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A

SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY OF WYOMING.

BY THE LATE ISAAC A. CHAPMAN, ESQ.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

VALLEY,

AND

ADJACENT COUNTRY.

BY A GENTLEMAN OF WILKESBARRE.

WILKESBARRE, PENN.

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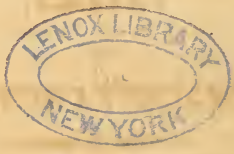

PREFACE.

THE Settlements at Wyoming have been visited by so many calamities, and the inhabitants have so frequently been carried into captivity, that most of those papers from which a regular and circumstantial narrative of its early history might have been formed, have been destroyed; and altho' there are still living many who were actors in most of the principal scenes, yet there are none who bore a part in all. And the chain of events, where there are not documents to connect them, depends on the recollection of various individuals who frequently differ from each other concerning the same particulars. In the following compilation the author has endeavored to relate such facts only as are supported by indisputable testimony; and if, as is very probable, he is not in every instance correct, he relies with confidence upon the indulgence of a liberal public, who are competent judges of the difficulty attending the acquisition of truth amidst a mass of error and misrepresentation.

Wyoming, July 11, 1818.

Note by the Publisher.

Since the MS. of the following pages came into the hands of the Publisher, he has been furnished with a Journal kept by Col. JOHN JENKINS during the time of the most serious disasters at Wyoming. The writer was particular in giving dates, &c. By this Journal, that part of the book which relates to the battle of Wyoming, has been carefully revised and corrected.

The Publisher has also been furnished with the Journal of a sergeant-major in Sullivan's army which has aided in establishing the correctness of some parts of the narrative.

SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY OF WYOMING.

CHAPTER I.

Description of Wyoming Valley—Remains of ancient fortifications—Etymology of the name—Indian Tribes—Indian tradition—Delawares—Monceys—Mingoes— Shawanese—Removal of the Shawanese from the Ohio—Their arrival at Wyoming—Treaty with the Six Nations—Speech of Connassatego—Arrival of the Delawares at Wyoming—Arrival of Count Zinzendorf—His reception—Plot to assassinate him—Arrival of the Nanticokes—Disagreements between the English and French—The Six Nations take part with the French—Battle between the Delawares and Shawanese—Removal of the Shawanese—Gnaddenhutten built—— Tadeuscund elected King of the Delawares—Fort Allen taken—Gnaddenhutten burnt—General Congress at Albany—Removal of the Nanticokes—Massacre at Shamokin—Braddock's defeat—Revolt of the Delawares—First Treaty at Easton—Speech of Tadeuscund—Fort Oswego taken by the French—General Treaty at Easton.

IT has been remarked by a celebrated historian*, that " in the infancy of Society men are " occupied with the business of the present hour,

*Gillies.

"forgetful of the past, and regardless of the fu-
"ture;" and the experience of all ages and countries undoubtedly affords abundant testimony to the truth of this declaration. There are however, perhaps, few instances in which it has been more forcibly exemplified, than in a struggle to form a settlement among the mountains of the new world.

That territory, the history of which, is attempted to be sketched in the following pages, has never been celebrated either for its extent or power; unless indeed, it may have been among the tribes composing its aboriginal inhabitants, of whom very little is now known, but of whom relicks have been found indicating a people of more importance than those tribes who subsequently occupied the country. That however, which renders it particularly worthy of notice, is the unexampled sufferings of its early settlers; and the frequent destruction of its infant settlements; subjects which have excited the notice of many modern historians, and have more recently been the theme of a celebrated English bard.‡

Wyoming is the name given to a beautiful Valley situate along the river Susquehanna in the North Eastern part of the State of Pennsylvania. It is about three miles wide, and twenty-five miles long, and is formed by two ranges of mountains nearly parallel to each other, extending from the North east to the South west. These mountains contain

‡Campbell.

many rocky precipices and are covered with wood consisting principally of Oak and Pine. The average height of the eastern range is about one thousand feet; that of the western, about eight hundred. They are of a very irregular form having elevated points, and deep hollows or openings which are called "Gaps." The Susquehanna enters the Valley through a gap in the western mountain called the "Lackawannock Gap," and flowing in a serpentine course about twenty miles, leaves the Valley through another opening in the same mountain, called the "Nanticoke Gap." These openings are so wide only as to admit the passage of the river and are in part faced with perpendicular bluffs of rocks, covered with a thick growth of Pine and Laurel, which have a very fine appearance when viewed from the river, or from the road which passes along their basis. The river is in most places about two hundred yards wide—from four to twenty feet deep, and flows with a very gentle current except at the rapids, or when swelled with rains or melting snows. Near the centre of the Valley it has a rapid called the "Wyoming Falls;" and another called the "Nanticoke Falls" where it passes through the Nanticoke Gap. Several tributary streams fall into the river, after passing through rocky gaps, to the mountains on each side of the Valley, forming beautiful cascades as they descend into the plain. Those on the North-west side are Toby's Creek, Moses' Creek and Island Run. On the South-east side are Mill Creek, Laurel Run, Solomon's Creek

and Nanticoke Creek; all of which are sufficient for Mills, and abound with fish.

Along the river, and on both sides, are level fertile plains extending in some places nearly a mile and an half from the margin of the stream, where small hills commence stretching to the mountains, the river sometimes washing the base of the hills on one side and sometimes on the other. The surface of the plain in some parts of the Valley is elevated about ten feet higher than in other parts, forming a sudden offset or declivity from one to the other. These plains are called the upper and lower "Flats," and spontaneously produce quantities of Plumbs, Grapes, many kinds of Berries, and a great variety of wild Flowers.

In many parts of the Valley, and in the sides of the mountains, Mineral Coal of a very superior quality is found in great abundance; it is of the species called Anthracite, which burns without smoke and with very little flame, and constitutes the principal fuel of the inhabitants, as well as their most important article of exportation.

In the Valley of Wyoming there exists some remains of ancient fortifications which appear to have been constructed by a race of people very different in their habits from those who occupied the place when first discovered by the whites. Most of these ruins have been so much obliterated by the operations of agriculture that their forms cannot now be distinctly ascertained. That which remains the most entire was examined by the writer during the summer of 1817, and its dimensions

carefully ascertained, although from frequent ploughing, its form had become almost destroyed. It is situated in the Township of Kingston, upon a level plain on the north side of Toby's Creek about one hundred and fifty feet from its bank, and about half a mile from its confluence with the Susquehanna. It is of an oval or elliptical form, having its longest diameter from the N. W. to the S. E. at right angles to the Creek, three hundred and thirty seven feet, and its shortest diameter from the N. E. to the S. W. two hundred and seventy two feet. On the S. W. side appears to have been a gate way about twelve feet wide, opening towards the great Eddy of the River into which the Creek falls. From present appearances it consisted probably of only one mound or rampart, which, in height and thickness, appears to have been the same on all sides, and was constructed of earth, the plain on which it stands not abounding in stone. On the outside of the rampart is an entrenchment or ditch, formed probably by removing the earth of which it is composed, and which appears never to have been walled. The Creek on which it stands is bounded by a high steep bank on that side, and at ordinary times is sufficiently deep to admit canoes to ascend from the River to the Fortification. When the first settlers came to Wyoming, this plain was covered with its native forest, consisting principally of Oak and Yellow Pine; and the trees which grew in the rampart and in the entrenchment, are said to have been as large as those in any other part of the Val-

ley; one large oak particularly, upon being cut down, was ascertained to be seven hundred years old. The Indians had no tradition concerning these fortifications, neither did they appear to have any knowledge of the purposes for which they were constructed. They were perhaps, erected about the same time with those upon the waters of the Ohio, and probably by a similar people and for similar purposes.

WYOMING is a corruption of the name given to the place by a nation of Indians called the Delawares, who called it *Maughwauwame.* The word is a compound; *Maughwau*, meaning large or extensive, and *wame*, signifying plains or meadows; so that it may be translated "*The Large Plains.*" The name in the language of the Six Nations, is SGAHONTOWANO, "*The Large Flats;*" *'Gahonto*, meaning, in their language, a large piece of ground without trees*, by which it appears that some part of these plains, probably the lower flats, contained no woods. The Delawares pronounced the first syllable short, and the German Missionaries, in order to give the sound as near as possible to the Indian pronunciation, wrote the word *M'chweuwami.* The early settlers, finding it difficult to pronounce the word

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*These particulars, the writer obtained from the Rev. John Heckaweldar of Bethlehem, who was a Missionary among the Indians as early as 1765, and to whose politeness he is much indebted. See Note I. at the end of the Volume.

correctly, spoke it *Wauwaumie*—then *Wiwaumie*—then *Wiomic*, and lastly *Wyoming*.

The information which can at present be obtained relative to the Indian Tribes who formerly inhabited the Valley of Wyoming, is necessarily very limited, from the imperfect nature of Indian tradition, which forms at present the only memorial of its ancient history. There was a tradition among the oldest and most learned of the Delawares, that their Nation originally came from the western shores of North America, and having proceeded eastward in quest of a better country, they came to the great River Mississippi, where they found a powerful Nation of Indians in possession of the country, who had strong fortifications and other means of defence unknown to the Delawares.—That this people refused them permission to pass through their territories, upon which the Delawares made war upon them, and cut them to pieces in many sanguinary battles; after which the remainder went down the river, and have not since been heard of. At what period of time these important events transpired, does not appear from the accounts transmitted to such of their posterity as remained upon the Susquehanna; and whether the tradition is founded in fact may be considered as doubtful. The Delawares, like all other tribes, were proud of the prowess of their ancestors, and without doubt would consider it as an honor to be thought the conquerors of a nation who had constructed such extensive works as are indicated by those ruins so common in the western

country. The question may naturally occur, what became of that people who descended the Mississippi after their dispersion by the Delawares, and who were acquainted with the art of fortification? It is not probable that they could have been the same with the Mexicans or Peruvians, since their traditions will not induce a belief of such an origin; and it may also be considered a little surprising that the Delawares, during a long course of bloody wars, should not have learned from their enemies some knowledge of an art so beneficial in a system of national defence. The tradition proceeds to relate that after the Delawares had dispersed these people, called the Alligewe or Alligeni, and taken possession of the country, a great portion of their Nation concluded to remain in the conquered country, and another part removed towards the Atlantic, and took possession of the country extending from the Hudson River to the Potomac.—The Nation was divided into several distinct tribes, each of which had an appropriate name. One took possession of the country between the sea coast and the mountains. Another tribe called the Monceys, occupied the country extending from the *Kittatinnunk* or principal mountain, now called the Blue Mountain, to the heads of the Delaware and Susquehanna. This tribe had their principal settlement or council fire at a place called the Minisink on a River called by the Mingoes the Makerisk-kiskon, being the same afterwards called *De-la-ware*, or Delaware; and a part of the same tribe, nearly at the same time, settled at Wyoming.

About the same period, (for tradition does not sufficiently determine the precise time,) the Shawanese Indians inhabited the country now composing Georgia and the Floridas, and were a very powerful and warlike nation; but the surrounding tribes having confederated against them, they were subdued and driven from that territory. In this unfortunate condition they sent messengers to the Mohegans, a nation who resided on the east side of the Hudson River, requesting their influence in procuring from the Delawares, permission for them to come and reside under their protection.

At this time the Delawares were not upon the most friendly terms with the Mingoes or Six Nations, who inhabited the country in the neighborhood of the Lakes, and who, by virtue of their confederated power, exercised a dictatorial spirit over the surrounding tribes. The Delawares were therefore anxious to accumulate a force against these powerful neighbors, and very willingly accepted the proposition of the Shawanese. While these negociations were progressing the Shawanese had found a resting place near the mouth of the river Wabasch where they were building a Town, when their messengers returned, accompanied by a deputation from the Mohegans, who informed them of the success of their application to the Delawares, and that a territory was already alloted for their reception. Upon receiving this intelligence, a National Council was held to deliberate on the propriety of removing to the country of the Delaware. The assembly however were divi-

ded, a part having resolved to remain and fortify themselves in their new Town; and the remainder, consisting principally of the Pickaway tribe, under their Chief, *Gachgawatschiqua*, removed from the Ohio and formed a settlement in the forks of the Delaware. They however brought with them that artless and warlike spirit which had rendered them so disagreeable to their southern neighbors; and as the character of a people cannot long be concealed, disturbances soon arose between them and that tribe of the Delawares who occupied the country lower down the river. These conflicts became at length so violent, that the Shawanese were compelled to leave the forks of the Delaware, and the whole tribe in that country removed to Wyoming Valley, which they found unoccupied, as the Monceys had been induced by the threatening posture of affairs to concentrate their forces around their principal settlement at Minisinks.

The Shawanese having arrived at Wyoming found themselves sole masters of the Valley, and as there appeared no enemy to annoy them in their new abode, they built a Town upon the west bank of the River, near the lower end of the Valley, upon a large plain which still bears the name of the Shawanese Flats. In this situation the Shawanese enjoyed many years of repose. The women cultivated corn upon the plains, and the men traversed the surrounding mountains in pursuit of game. While these changes were taking place among the Indian tribes, the Europeans were forming settlements in various places along the At-

lantic coast, which they obtained sometimes by purchase, at other times by conquest, and although they were beginning to extend them into the interior, yet the resistance made by the Indians was in most cases feeble, as there were few instances in which the different tribes united their forces for that purpose. There were however in the country of the Great Lakes, a people who conducted their wars upon a much more extensive system. These people were known by the general name of *Mingoes*. They consisted of the Onondagoes, Senekas, Cayoogoes, Oneydas, Mohocks and Tuscaroras, and their confederacy acquired the appellation of "*The Six Nations.*" They were a powerful warlike people, who held the surrounding nations in subjection, and claimed a jurisdiction, extending from Connecticut River to the Ohio. They are described by a celebrated historian*, as "A confederacy, who, by their union, "courage and military skill, had reduced a great "number of other Indian tribes and subdued a "territory more extensive than the whole kingdom "of France." This people claimed the country occupied by the Delawares and Shawanese and held these tribes or nations subject to their authority; a claim which, though seldom acknowledged and never defined, was not frequently disputed; for savage, as well as civilized nations, frequently strengthen a weak cause, by the powerful force of military array.

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*Smollet.

After the arrival of William Penn, the Proprietor of Pennsylvania, he purchased of the Delaware Indians the country along that River below the Blue Mountains, supposing those tribes the only legitimate owners; but having been informed of the claim and powers of the Six Nations, he also negociated a purchase of them. Some difficulty arising between the Proprietaries and the Delawares respecting the limits of these purchases, the Delawares refused to give up possession; and as no accommodation appeared likely to take place, a messenger was sent from the Governor to the Six Nations, informing them of the circumstance and requesting them to send Deputies to meet in Council at Philadelphia with instructions upon all subjects in dispute.

Accordingly in the summer of 1742, the Chiefs and principal warriors of the Six Nations to the number of two hundred and thirty, repaired to Philadelphia where they met the Chiefs of the Delawares, and a General Council was opened in presence of the Officers of the Colonial Government and a large concourse of citizens, in the great Hall of the Council House.

The Governor by means of an interpreter opened the Conference on the part of the Proprietaries in a *long talk*, which set forth, that the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania had purchased the lands in the forks of Delaware several years before, of the Delaware tribes who then possessed them.—That they had afterwards received information that the same lands were claimed by the Six Nations, and a pur-

chase was also made of *them.*—That in both these purchases the Proprietaries had paid the stipulated price; but the Delaware Indians had nevertheless refused to give up possession; and as the Six Nations claimed authority over their country, it had been thought proper to hold a Council of all parties that justice might be done. The Chiefs of the Six Nations were then informed that as they had on all occasions required the Government of Pennsylvania to remove any whites that settled upon their lands, so now the Government of Pennsylvania expected that the Six Nations would cause these Indians to remove from the lands which it had purchased. The Deeds from the Indians, and Drafts of the disputed lands were then produced, and the whole submitted to the consideration of the Council. After some deliberation among the different Chiefs, *Connossatego*, a venerable chieftain, arose in the name of all the Deputies and informed the Governor, "That they "saw the Delawares had been an unruly peo-"ple and were altogether in the wrong, and that "they had concluded to remove them." And addressing himself to the Delawares in a violent manner, he said, "You deserve to be taken by "the hair of your heads and shaken 'till you re-"cover your senses and become sober. We have "seen a Deed signed by nine of your Chiefs above "fifty years ago for this very land. But how "came you to take upon yourselves to sell lands "at all? We conquered you—we made women "of you; you know you are women, and can no

"more sell lands than women. Nor is it fit "that you should have the power of selling lands, "since you would abuse it. You have been fur- "nished with clothes, meat and drink by the goods "paid you for it, and now you want it again like "children as you are. But what makes you sell "lands in the dark? Did you ever tell us that "you had sold this land? Did we ever receive "any part, even the value of a pipe-shank for it? "You have told us a blind story that you sent a "messenger to us to inform us of the sale, but he "never came amongst us, nor have we ever heard "anything about it. But we find you are none of "our blood, you act a dishonest part not only in "this, but in other matters. Your ears are ever "open to slanderous reports about your brethren. "For all these reasons we charge you to remove "instantly; we don't give you liberty to think "about it. You are women; take the advice of a "wise man and remove instantly. You may re- "turn to the other side of the Delaware where you "came from, but we do not know whether, con- "sidering how you have demeaned yourselves, you "will be permitted to live there, or whether you "have not swallowed that land down your throats "as well as the lands on this side. We therefore "assign you two places to go to, either to *Wyo- "ming* or *Shamokin*. You may go to either of "these places, and then we shall have you more "under our eye, and shall see how you behave. "Dont deliberate, but remove away and take this "belt of Wampum."

He then commanded them to leave the Council as he had business to do with the English.

The influence of the Six Nations was too powerful to be disregarded, and the speech of Connassatego had its full effect; the Delawares immediately left the disputed country; some removed to Shamokin and some to Wyoming.

On their arrival at Wyoming the Delawares found the valley in possession of the Shawanese; but as these Indians acknowledged the authority of the Six Nations, and knew that the removal of the Delawares was in consequence of their order, resistance was thought to be inexpedient; and the Delawares having taken quiet possession of a part of the Valley, built their Town of *Maughwauwame* on the east bank of the River upon the lower flat below the mouth of a small stream, and nearly opposite the first Island above the mouth of Toby's Creek.* Such was the origin of the Indian Town of Wyoming. Soon after the arrival of the Delawares, and during the same season, (the summer of the year 1742,) a distinguished foreigner, Count Zinzendorf, of Saxony, arrived in the Valley on a religious mission to the Indians. This nobleman is believed to have been the first white person that ever visited Wyoming. He was the Revivor of the ancient Church of the United Brethren, and had given protection in his dominions to the persecuted Protestants who had emigrated from Moravia, thence taking the name of *Moravians*, and

*Just below the present Town of Wilkesbarre.

who two years before had made their first settlement in Pennsylvania.

Upon his arrival in America, Count Zinzendorf manifested a great anxiety to have the Gospel preached to the Indians; and although he had heard much of the ferocity of the Shawanese, formed a resolution to visit them. With this view he repaired to *Tulpehocken* the residence of Conrad Weiser, a celebrated Indian interpreter, and Indian agent for the Government, whom he wished to engage in the cause and to accompany him to the Shawanese Town. Weiser was too much occupied in business to go immediately to Wyoming, but he furnished the Count with letters to a Missionary of the name of Mack, and the latter, accompanied by his wife who could speak the Indian language, proceeded immediately with Zinzendorf on the projected mission.

The Shawanese appeared to be alarmed on the arrival of the strangers who pitched their tents on the banks of the River a little below the Town, and a Council of the Chiefs having assembled, the declared purpose of Zinzendorf was deliberately considered. To these unlettered children of the wilderness it appeared altogether improbable that a stranger should brave the dangers of a boisterous ocean three thousand miles broad, for the sole purpose of instructing them in the means of obtaining happiness *after death*, and that too without requiring any compensation for his trouble and expense; and as they had observed the anxiety of the white people to purchase lands of the Indians, they nat-

urally concluded that the real object of Zinzendorf was either to procure from them the lands at Wyoming for his own uses, to search for hidden treasures, or to examine the country with a view to future conquest. It was accordingly resolved to assassinate him, and to do it privately lest the knowledge of the transaction should produce a war with the English who were settling the country below the mountains.

Zinzendorf was alone in his tent, seated upon a bundle of dry weeds which composed his bed, and engaged in writing, when the assassins approached to execute their bloody commission. It was night, and the cool air of September had rendered a small fire necessary to his comfort and convenience. A curtain formed of a blanket and hung upon pins was the only guard to the entrance of his tent. The heat of his small fire had aroused a large Rattle-snake which lay in the weeds not far from it; and the reptile to enjoy it more effectually crawled slowly into the tent and passed over one of his legs undiscovered. Without, all was still and quiet except the gentle murmur of the river at the rapids about a mile below. At this moment the Indians softly approached the door of his tent, and slightly removing the curtain, contemplated the venerable man too deeply engaged in the subject of his thoughts to notice either their approach, or the snake which lay extended before him. At a sight like this even the heart of the savage shrunk from the idea of committing so horrid an act, and quitting the spot they hastily returned to the Town

and informed their companions that the *Great Spirit* protected the white man, for they had found him with no door but a blanket, and had seen a large Rattle-snake crawl over his legs without attempting to injure him.* This circumstance, together with the arrival soon afterwards of Conrod Weiser, procured Zinzendorf the friendship and confidence of the Indians, and probably contributed essentially towards inducing many of them at a subsequent period to embrace the Christian Religion. The Count having spent twenty days at Wyoming, returned to Bethlehem, a Town then building by his christian brethren on the north bank of the Lehigh about eleven miles from its junction with the Delaware.

The English settlements were about this time rapidly increasing in the Colony of Maryland, and difficulties arising with the Indians in that quarter, a great number of the tribe called the *Nanticokes*, who inhabited the eastern shore of the Chesapeak Bay, removed to Wyoming in May 1748 with their chief Sachem called *White.*—— Finding the pricipal part of the Valley in possession of the Shawanese and Delawares, the Nanticokes built their Town at the lower end of the Val-

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*This circumstance is not published in the Count's memoirs, lest, as he states, the brethren should think the conversion of a part of the Shawanese was attributable to their superstition. The author received the narrative from a companion of Zinzendorf who afterwards accompanied him to Wyoming.

ley on the east bank of the river just above the mouth of a small creek still called "Nanticoke Creek." About this time Colonel Cornwallis, who had been appointed Governor of Nova Scotia, arrived in that Colony and laid the foundation of the Town of Halifax.* While the French, whose settlements had become extensive in North America, began to manifest great alarm at the encreasing power of the British Colonies, and with a view to check their growth and to provide for events in case of hostilities, they endeavored to engage in their interest the different Indian tribes that were scattered along the waters of the great Lakes.——The powerful influence possessed by the Six Nations over the other aborigines, and their contiguity to the French Colonies, rendered an alliance with them particularly desirable on the part of the French, and a good understanding was accordingly effected by means which seldom fail of success. A war it is true had not actually broken out between the English and French, but circumstances gave such strong indications of an approaching rupture, that the colonies of the respective nations began to apprehend such an event, and the Indians who were in the French interest attempted also to bring over to their views those tribes which still remained friendly to the English, or to provoke hostilities between them. The Shawanese upon the Ohio were among the first to form an alliance with the French, and as that portion of their tribe which

*Smollet.

had removed to Wyoming still retained their hatred to the English, a formal proposition was made to them to leave Wyoming and rejoin their brethren on the Ohio. To this proposition one difficulty offered itself: a portion of the Shawanese had embraced the Christian religion, and being attached to the Moravian Church, were determined to remain on the Susquehanna. An event however soon transpired which caused the removal of the Shawanese, and however trifling in its origin, produced an effect more powerful than the wishes of their Ohio brethren and the threats of the Six Nations. Disturbances had occasionally arisen between the Shawanese and the Delawares at Wyoming, and their mutual animosity had become so great as to break out into hostilities upon the least provocation. While the warriors of the Delawares were engaged upon the mountains in a hunting expedition, a number of Squaws, or female Indians, from Maughwauwame, were gathering wild fruits along the margin of the river below the Town, where they found a number of Shawanese Squaws and their children who had crossed the river in their canoes upon the same business. A child belonging to the Shawanese having taken a large Grasshopper, a quarrel arose among the children for the possession of it in which their mothers soon took a part, and as the Delaware Squaws contended that the Shawanese had no privileges upon that side of the river the quarrel soon became general, but the Delawares being the most numerous, soon drove the Shawanese to their canoes, and to their own bank; a few

having been killed on both sides. Upon the return of the warriors both tribes prepared for battle to revenge the wrongs which they considered their wives had sustained.

The Shawanese upon crossing the river found the Delawares ready to receive them and oppose their landing. A dreadful conflict took place between the Shawanese in their canoes and the Delawares on the bank. At length after great numbers had been killed, the Shawanese effected a landing and a battle took place about a mile below Maughwauwame, in which many hundred warriors are said to have been killed on both sides; but the Shawanese were so much weakened in landing that they were not able to sustain the conflict, and after the loss of about half their tribe the remainder were forced to flee to their own side of the river: shortly after which, they abandoned their Town and removed to the Ohio. The Delawares were now masters of Wyoming Valley, and the fame of their triumph which was supposed to have driven the Shawanese to the West, tended very much to increase their numbers by calling to their settlement many of those unfriendly Indians near the Delaware who remained on good terms with their Christian neighbors.

As the conduct of the French and Indians assumed a more hostile appearance, the Governmen of Pennsylvania established a Fort* on the eastern

*This Fort is said to have been built by Dr. Franklin in person.

bank of the Lehigh River above the blue mountains, which received the name of Fort Allen, in honor of a gentleman then forming a settlement below the mountain on the bank of the same river. Opposite to this fort, and a small distance up the Mahoning Creek which falls into the Lehigh at this place, the United Brethren from Bethlehem about the same time built a Town, which they called "*Gnaddenhutten*," (huts of mercy,) and which was principally intended for the protection and residence of the Indians who had become members of their Society. These Indians were a part of the Delawares, and a constant intercourse was kept up between Gnaddenhutten and Wyoming, by means of a warriors' path which led across the mountains. The hostile Indians from the north were occasionally discovered in parties lurking about the settlements of the Christian Indians, and some treacherous person having murdered TADAME, the Chief of the Delawares at Wyoming, a General Council was assembled and TADEUSCUND, sometimes called *Tedyuscung*, a chieftain residing at Gnaddenhutten, was proclaimed Chief Sachem, who soon after removed to Wyoming, at that time the principal settlement of the Delawares. Not long after this event a body of hostile Indians among whom were supposed to be many whites disguised as Indians, surprised the Garrison of Fort Allen while incautiously skating upon the ice of the Lehigh at the mouth of Mahoning Creek, and having murdered most of them, the Fort and the Town of Gnaddenhutten fell a prey to the victors. The

Town was attacked in the night and set on fire; many of the inhabitants perished in the flames, while others were carried away captives. Those who escaped fled to Wyoming.

Such was the posture of affairs in 1754 when all hopes of a reconciliation between the Courts of Versailles and St. James being at an end, *M. de Contraceur*, Commander of the French forces in the West, arrived at the Forks of the Monongahela with a thousand men and eighteen pieces of cannon, in three hundred canoes from Venango, (a Fort which the French had built upon the bank of the Ohio,) and took by surprise a British Fort which the Virginians had built at that place.*

Orders were now received from England by the Governors of the several Colonies, directing them to form a political confederacy for their mutual defence, and to repel force by force.‡ It was also enjoined upon them to conciliate as much as possible the Indians, and particularly the Six Nations, being directed "At so critical a juncture to put the latter upon their guard against any attempts which might be made to withdraw them from his Majesty's interests." A General Congress was accordingly appointed to be held at Albany, to which place the Indian tribes were invited, and where Commissioners attended from the British settlements. At this Congress a number of Indian tribes assembled, and having entered into new engagements to cultivate peace and friendship with the

*Smollet. ‡Smollet.

English, made several very extensive sales of lands to the agents of the different Governments.

The Nanticokes, who still remained at Wyoming, and who retained too much animosity against the English to form an alliance with them, removed from the Valley during the year 1755 and began a settlement at *Chemunk* further up the river. A part of them also migrated to *Chenenk* where they were under the more immediate protection of the Six Nations.

Hostilities having now actually commenced along the whole frontier of the British Colonies; a party of Indians from the Six Nations fell upon the settlement at Shamokin,* murdered fourteen whites and made some prisoners, and having plundered a few farms returned to their own territories. During the same season the Nanticokes, who, having established themselves at Chenenk and being unwilling that the bones of their brethren remaining in Maryland should be exposed to the operations of English agriculture, sent a deputation from their tribe who removed them from the place of their deposit, and conveyed them to Chenenk where they were interred with all the rites and ceremonies of savage sepulture. The French continued their unremitted exertions to detach the Delawares from the interests of the English, and to strengthen their works on the northern and western frontiers, and built a fort which they called Du Quesne, at

*A settlement at the confluence of the W. & E. branches of the Susquehanna.

the forks of the Ohio. Gen. Braddock was sent with an armed force consisting of British Regulars and American Militia to drive them from that quarter and to occupy the station; but not having taken the necessary precautions, on his march against an ambuscade he was attacked on the banks of the Monongahela in the month of July about ten miles from the fort, and defeated with the loss of his own life and about seven hundred men.* This success added to that of M. de Contraceur produced such calamitous effects upon the English cause, and added so much lustre to the French arms, that many of the Indian tribes, including the Delawares who had hitherto remained faithful to the British Colonies, now revolted and joined their brethren in the service of the French. In alluding to the means which had been used to produce this effect, Governor Morris of Pennsylvania, in his address to the Assembly in November, said "That the French had gained to their interest the Delaware and Shawanese Indians under the ensnaring pretence of restoring to them their country."‡

The evil effects resulting from the hostility of the Indian tribes began to be severely felt by the British Government, and the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania were requested to define explicitly their purchases of the Indians, and to obtain if possible a renewal of their friendship with the Colonies.—Instructions to this effect were accordingly des-

*Smollet.

‡See votes of Assembly, Vol. 4.

patched to the Governor, and messengers were sent to invite the Indians to a General Conference at Easton,* which was held in July; but as the attendance on the part of the Indians was not general, and many subjects of difference arising, the Conference was dissolved, and the subjects under consideration referred to a General Council to be held at the same place in the autumn. Accordingly on the eighth day of November 1756, the different Indian tribes, represented by their Chiefs and principal Warriors, met Governor Dennie at Easton where the Council was opened in the following order. "At three o'clock the Governor marched from his lodgings to the place of Conference guarded by a party of the royal Americans in front and on the flanks—and a detachment of Col. Weiser's Provincials in sub-divisions in the rear, with colours flying, drums beating, and music playing; which order was always observed in going to the place of Conference."‡

Tedeuscund, who had been accompanied from Wyoming by most of his principal Warriors, performed the part of chief speaker on this occasion for all the tribes present, as he had done at the preceding conferences. He is represented to have supported the rights and claims of the Indians in a

*A Town which had been recently built at the confluence of the Lehigh and Delaware Rivers.

‡Minutes of Conference on file.

dignified and spirited manner.* Tadeuscund, in his talk before the Council, said in substance as follows:—"There are many reasons why the Indians have ceased to be the friends of the English. They had never been satisfied with the conduct of the English after the treaty of 1737, when their Fathers, *Tishekunk* and *Nutimus*, sold them the lands upon the Delaware: that although the rights of the purchase were to extend "*as far as a man can go in a day and a half*" from Neshamony Creek, yet the man who was appointed to go over the ground, did not walk, but ran, and it was also expected he would go along the bank of the river, which he did not, but went in a straight line; and because they had been unwilling to give up the land to the English as far as the walk extended, the Governor who then had the command in Pennsylvania, sent for their cousins the Six Nations, who had always been hard masters to them, to come down and drive them from the land.—That when the Six Nations did come down, they met them at a great treaty held at the Governor's house in Philadelphia in 1742 with the view of explaining why they did not give up the land, but the English made so many presents to the Six Nations, that they would hear

*Major Parsons, who acted as Secretary to the Conference, describes Tadeuscund as "a lusty raw-boned man, haughty and very desirous of respect and command," and adds, that "he was born some where near Trenton, and is now (1756) fifty years old." See Minutes of Conference on file in Secretary's Office, Harrisburg.

no explanation from the Delawares; and the Chief of the Council of the Six Nations (Conassatego,) abused them and called them women. The Six Nations had however, given to them and the Shawanese the country upon the Juniatta for a hunting ground, and had so informed the Governor;—but notwithstanding this the latter permitted the whites to go and settle upon those lands.—That two years before the Governor had been to Albany to buy more of the lands of the Six Nations and had described their purchase by *points of compass*, which they did not understand, including not only the Juniatta but also the West Branch of the Susquehanna, which the Indians did not intend to sell; and when all these things were known they declared they would no longer be friends to the English who were trying to get all their country from them."

He assured the Council that they were glad to meet their old friends, the English, to smoke the pipe of peace with them, and hoped that justice would be done to them for all the injuries which they had received. This Conference continued nine days during which time all matters of difference were considered, and the Shawanese and Delawares, the two principal tribes, became reconciled to the English with whom they concluded a treaty of peace.

The object of the Pennsylvania Government however, was not confined to the pacification merely of the Delawares and Shawanese; for knowing as the English well did the power and influence of the Six Nations, this was considered only

as a preparatory step towards forming a treaty with them also. To the formation of such a treaty additional difficulties were now created by some recent successes of the French near the Lakes. The Marquis de Montcalm with a body of thirteen hundred regular troops, seventeen hundred Canadians, and a large body of Indian auxiliaries, laid siege to Oswego, a Fort built by the British at the mouth of the Onandago River on the shore of Lake Ontario, and the Garrison, consisting of fourteen hundred men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war on the thirteenth of August, their Commander, the brave Col. Mercer, having been killed by a Cannon-ball.* No means however were neglected to regain the friendship of the Six Nations, and presents having been liberally distributed amongst them, a Grand Council of all the Indian tribes was held by special invitation at Easton in October 1758. At this treaty there were present Chiefs and Deputies from the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes, Canoys, Tuteloes, Chugnues, Delawares, Unamies, Minisinks, Mohicons, Wappingers and Shawanese, amounting in the whole to about five hundred. The Conferences, on the part of the English were managed by the Governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey accompanied by Sir William Johnson as Deputy for Indian affairs, four members of the Council of Pennsylvania, Six members of Assembly, two agents for the Province.

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*Smollet.

of New Jersey and a great number of Planters and citizens of Philadelphia.

The formalities of the Conference having been settled in a manner nearly similar to those of 1756, the Assembly entered upon the consideration of the great objects which had called them together. The Indians generally were loud in their complaints against the English for having made encroachments upon their lands, and declared that this was the cause which had provoked them to hostilities. Tadeuscund, who acted as ambassador for most of the tribes, and who had been principally instrumental in forming the Assembly, explained to the tribes the general object of the meeting and the principles upon which he, as their representative, had made overtures of peace. The Chief of one of the Six Nations on the other hand expressed in strong language his resentment against the British Colonists who had killed and imprisoned some of his tribe, and he as well as other Chiefs of those Nations took great umbrage at the importance assumed by Tadeuscund whom, as one of the Delawares, they considered in some degree subject to their authority. Tadeuscund however supported the high station which he held, with dignity and firmness, and the different Indian tribes at length became reconciled to each other. The Conference having continued eighteen days, and all causes of misunderstanding between the English and the Indians being removed, a general peace was concluded on the twenty sixth day of October. At this treaty the boundaries of the different pur-

chases made from the Indians were more particularly described, and they received an additional compensation for their lands consisting of knives, hats, caps, looking-glasses, tobacco-boxes, shears, gun-locks, combs, clothes, shoes, stockings, blankets and several suits of laced clothes for their Chieftains; and when the business of the treaty was completed, the stores of rum were opened and distributed to the Indians, who soon exhibited a scene of brutal intoxication.*

Peace with the Indians continued until the Year 1763, when a war again broke out between the English and the Indians about the same time that peace was concluded between the English and French, and notwithstanding the pacification between those nations hostilities between their Colonies and the Indian tribes continued until the Year 1765.

Having thus brought down the *Indian History* of Wyoming from the earliest accounts to the time of the first settlements commenced by the Whites in the Valley, we shall next take a view of the causes which led to those settlements and the controversy which they produced between the Governments of Pennsylvania and Connecticut.

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*Minutes of Conference.—Smollet.

CHAPTER II.

Origin of the English claim to North America—Plymouth Company formed—Their Grant included Wyoming—Proprietors of Connecticut purchase part of the Plymouth Grant—Connecticut Charter obtained—New York first settled by the Dutch—Conquered by the English—Pennsylvania Charter obtained—Indian Treaty at Albany—Susquehanna Company formed, and Wyoming purchased of the Indians—Attempt to settle Wyoming and Coshutunk—Peace with the Indians—First settlement of Wyoming—Legal opinions concerning the different claims to Wyoming—Murder of Tadeuseund—Destruction of the Wyoming Settlements by the Savages—Militia of Pennsylvania sent to the relief of Wyoming—Christian Indians settle at Wyalusing—Indian Treaty at Fort Stanwix—Wyoming purchased by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania—Settlements resumed at Wyoming, and a seperate Colony formed there—Settlements commenced at Wyoming under the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania—Settlers at Wyoming made prisoners by the Pennsylvanians—Settlement re-established, and Fort Durkee built—Attempt to form an amicable settlement of the controversy—Expedition under Col. Francis—Surrender of Fort Durkee—Wyoming plundered by Ogden's forces—Ogden's Block-house taken by the Connecticut Settlers—Governor Penn applies to General Page for assistance—Fort Durkee again taken by the Pennsylvania Troops—Fort Durkee recaptured by Troops under Capt. Stewart.

IN the preceding Chapter, sketches of History are given which may be familiar to almost every reader, and which, at the first view, may not appear necessarily connected with the History of

Wyoming. It has been done that the reader might, by having them presented to view, discover the influence and effect which these transactions have had upon the measures and conduct of the different Indian Tribes that successively inhabited Wyoming Valley. In this and the following Chapters extracts will be made in a similar manner, that such part of the subject as is connected with the History of other times, and of other States, may be more readily understood.

After the discovery of America, the different nations of Europe severally claimed such parts of the American Continent as had been discovered by their respective subjects; and all that part of North America from Florida to the latitude of 58° having been discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1497, was claimed by the English Government. The discovery by Cabot appears to have been confined principally to the general figure and position of the coast, and not to have extended to the various bays and rivers with which it is indented, and it does not appear that the English had any knowledge of those particulars for more than one hundred years after the first discovery of the country.

When a portion of the people of England began to manifest a design of forming settlements in America and to take measures for that purpose, it became necessary, in order to secure the different adventurers in their respective rights, that Charters from the Government should be obtained, defining as nearly as possible the territorial limits of each Colony or Province. In 1606 two companies

were formed in England, with a view of forming settlements and opening a trade with America.—One of them obtained a Charter the same year for the Southern part of the English claims which they called "Virginia," where they had commenced some small settlements. The other Company continued to trade with the Indians, but did not obtain their Charter until 1620. On the third day of March of that year, King James I. granted them Letters Patent under the great seal of England, Incorporating the Duke of Lenox, the Marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, and others, to the number of forty Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen, by the name of "*The Councils established at Plymouth in the County of Devon for the Planting, Ruling and Governing of New England in America.*"* The powers of this Corporation were to be exercised in England, where it was established; but its laws and regulations were to extend to "*the ruling and governing of New England.*" There was, by the same Charter, granted to them and their *assigns* all "That part of America lying "and being in breadth from the forty degrees of "the said Northerly latitude from the Equinoctial "line to forty eight degrees of the said Northerly "latitude inclusively, and in length of and within "all the breadth aforesaid throughout the main "land from sea to sea," &c., concluding with the following condition: "*Provided* that any of the said

*Trumbull.

"premises by said Letters Patent intended and "meant to be granted were not then actually pos-"sessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince "or State, or within the bounds, limits or terri-"tories of the Southern Colonies then before gran-"ted by our said dear Father to be planted by his "loving subjects in the Southern part."*

This was the General Charter of *New England*, which name was given to the country by the Charter. Parts of the territory described by it were afterwards sold out to other companies, and by means of such division the several New England States have been formed; but as the powers of Legislation were by this Charter to be exercised in *England*, the different Colonies found it necessary to obtain new Charters to vest in them the various rights and powers necessary for their prosperity.

The contention which so long subsisted between the citizens of Connecticut and Pennsylvania, and which caused so much blood to be spilled at Wyoming, originated in an interference of the territorial claims of the respective parties. These claims were founded in the Charters granted to their respective Governments. It therefore becomes necessary, in order to have a full understanding of the rights of the different parties, to examine the particulars of their claims, and the manner in which their Charter boundaries were ascertained. We have already seen that in the original Charter of New England, the Southern boundary of the

*Trumbull.

territory granted to the Plymouth Company was fixed at the fortieth degree of north latitude. In the year 1628 the Plymouth Company transferred to Sir Henry Roswell and others that part of their territory which now forms the State of Massachusetts. In 1630 the same Company sold to the Earl of Warwick, their President, that part now composing the State of Connecticut with the same width of territory extending from sea to sea, meaning at that time from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The Earl of Warwick, by Deed dated the 19th of March 1631 conveyed to Lords Jay and Seal, Lord Brook, and others, to the number of twelve, the same territory which the Company had conveyed to him, in which Deed the Western limits are described in the following singular phraseology of those times: "and also all and singular "the lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying "and being within the lands aforesaid North and "South, in latitude and breadth—and in length "and in longitude of, and within all the breadth "aforesaid throughout the main land there from "the Western Ocean to the South Sea."* Two years afterwards, in the month of September 1633, William Holmes at the head of a small company took possession under this Grant, and made the first settlement in the Colony on the banks of the Connecticut, just below the mouth of Windsor River; and in the month of November 1635 a party of men was sent by Governor Winthrop from Boston, who

*Trumbull.

took possession of the mouth of Connecticut River, and erected a Fort there, which they called Saybrook, in honor of the principal Proprietor.* Mr. John Winthrop acted as Governor of the new Colony under the direction of the Proprietors, who remained in England; and as the settlements increased in population it was found extremely necessary that the power of making laws should rest in the Colony. Accordingly a negociation was opened between the inhabitants of the Colony on one side, and the Proprietors, through their agent George Fenwick Esq. who commanded Fort Saybrook, on the other, which resulted in a cession of the title of the Proprietors to the inhabitants on the 5th of December 1644.

From this time the people of Connecticut were governed by their own laws; but as the original power of legislation was by the Charter to be exercised at "Plymouth in the County of Devon," the right of the General Court to exercise the same in the Colony, became very questionable. A civil war however raged in England, and the people of Connecticut were more deeply concerned in relation to the manner of administering their Government, than anxious respecting its legality. Upon the restoration of the Monarchy under Charles II. it was very naturally concluded that these powers would be more critically examined, as a state of peace would give the Government leisure to enquire into the affairs of the Colonies; and it was

*Trumbull.

thought proper to apply to the King for a specific Charter granting them the privilege of self Government. Accordingly the Legislative body (called the General Court,) which met at Hartford in May 1644, drew up a petition to his Majesty requesting in a formal manner to be taken under the royal protection, and that he would be pleased to grant them a Charter of privileges which should include and establish the original Constitution of Government which had been adopted at a general meeting of all the free planters of the Colony convened at Hartford on the 14th of January 1639, a copy of which accompanied the petition. Mr. John Winthrop, at that time Governor of the Colony, was sent to England to lay this petition before the King, and on the 23d of April 1662, a Charter was granted to the Colony agreeably to the prayer of the petition. This Charter included "All that part of our dominions in New England "in America, bounded on the East by Naragansett "Bay, where the said River falleth into the Sea— "and on the North by the line of the Massachu- "setts plantation—on the South by the Sea, and "in longitude as the line of the Massachusetts Col- "ony, running from East to West—(that is to "say) from the Naragansett Bay on the East to "the South Sea on the West part."

These several instruments taken together give us a full view of the territorial limits of Connecticut. It will be observed that in the *Connecticut Charter*, the southern boundary is said to be "*the Sea*," but as the Sea, or rather Long Island Sound,

extends in a south-westerly direction, the place of the south-west corner of the Colony was not specifically defined. In order therefore to ascertain that point, we must resort to the Deed of the Colony from the Earl of Warwick, in which the territory included is said to be "All that part of New "England in America which lies and extends it-"self from a River there called Naragansett River, "the space of forty leagues upon a straight line "near the shore towards the south-west as the "coast lieth towards Virginia, accounting three "English miles to the league," &c. The grant to the Plymouth Company having extended South to the fortieth degree of North latitude, they had therefore an undoubted right to transfer their claims to that degree, and if the distance mentioned in the Deed from the Earl of Warwick beginning at the "Naragansett Bay where the said River falleth into the Sea," and measuring one hundred and twenty English miles, "in a straight line as the coast lieth towards Virginia," would not extend beyond the fortieth degree of North latitude, then the point found by such measurement would be the south-west corner of Connecticut, and the territory included would be all the country from that point to the "line of the Massachusetts plantation," and "from the Naragansett Bay on the East, to the South Sea on the West part." It so happens that a distance of one hundred and twenty miles measured in a direet line along the coast from Naragansett Bay towards Virginia will terminate very nearly on the fortieth

degree of North latitude, but as this measurement was not made at the time various difficulties occurred in establishing the south-western boundary of the Colony. Those difficulties originated in the following circumstances.

In the year 1608, Capt. Henry Hudson, under a commission from King James I. of England, sailed in the employment of several London merchants in quest of a north-west passage to India, and having discovered Long Island Sound and the mouth of a large river opening into a spacious bay, he sailed into the same and having proceeded up the river about one hundred miles with his ship, he came to anchor opposite the place where the city now stands which bears his name. He spent several days trading with the Indians, and having given his own name to the river, returned into the Atlantic. Two years afterwards he made a second voyage in the employment of several merchants of Holland to whom he subsequently sold his right to the countries which he had discovered.

The Amsterdam West India Company having purchased Hudson's claim called the country the "New Netherlands," and built a Town on an Island at the mouth of the river which they called "New Amsterdam." In 1614 the same Company sent part of their Colony up the river where they built a Town on the western bank which they called "Orange." These two Towns were the first which were built by the subjects of any European nation within the present limits of the United States. Thus the whole country for a distance of

one hundred and sixty miles along the Hudson was in the possession of the Dutch and consequently came within the *proviso* mentioned in the Charter to the Plymouth Company which excepted such of the granted premises as were "then actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State," for the Dutch had been in the occupancy of the country six years previous to the date of the Company's Charter.

In the year 1664 on the 12th day of March King Charles II. granted a patent to his brother the Duke of York and Albany of a large tract of country in America including Long Island, the territory of the New Netherlands and all the country westward to the Delaware Bay: his Majesty having declared that the Dutch had no right to countries first discovered by an Englishman. A war had broken out with the Dutch, and the Duke considered it a proper time to take possession of his territories. A fleet was accordingly fitted out under the command of Sir Robert Carr and Colonel Nichols, which proceeded to Boston, and having procured reinforcements from the Colonies appeared before the city of New Amsterdam which surrendered to the English on the 27th of August 1664, and the whole of the New Netherlands having followed the example of the capital, the two principal Towns received the names which formed the principal titles of their new proprietor: New Amsterdam taking the name of *New York*, and Orange that of *Albany*. The *Dutch Colony* of the New Netherlands, having by these events become

the *English Province* of New York, it became necessary that the boundaries between that Province and the New England Plantations should be definitively settled. The Dutch, during the continuance of their Government, had extended their settlements as far eastward along the coast as possible, and when the first planters of the Connecticut Colony arrived, they found a company of the Dutch building a Fort on the banks of Connecticut River where Hartford now stands, in which they had already placed two pieces of cannon.*

They were forced to abandon the attempt to form settlements on Connecticut River, and were eventually driven back to their permanent settlements which then extended no farther than the neighborhood of West Chester; but hostilities were for many years kept up between them and the New England planters, and no definitive boundaries were ever agreed upon between them, which was of any longer duration than the continuance of peace and good understanding between the neighbouring planters of the respective Colonies.

To prevent the continuance of these hostilities, Commissioners were appointed on behalf of the Colony of Connecticut to confer with Col. Dungan, then Governor of the Province under his Grace the Duke of York, concerning the territorial limits of their respective Governments; and they were authorised to fix and determine the boundary line between the Colony of Connecticut and the Prov-

*Trumbull.

ince of New York. Accordingly on the 28th of November 1683, it was mutually agreed " That the line should begin at Byram River where it falleth into the Sound at a point called Lyons' Point:—to go as the said River runneth to the place where the common road or wading place over said river is. And from the said road or wading place, to go North, north-west into the country as far as will be eight English miles from the aforesaid Lyons' Point, and that a line of twelve miles being measured from the said Lyon's Point according to the line or general courses of the Sound Eastward. Where the said twelve miles endeth another line shall be run from the Sound eight miles into the country North, north-west, and also that a fourth line be run, (that is to say) from the northernmost end of the eight miles line being the third mentioned line (which is to be twelve miles in length) a line parallel to Hudson's River, in every place twenty miles distant from Hudson's River shall be the bounds there between the said territory or Province of New York and the said Colony of Connecticut as far as Connecticut Colony doth extend northwards that is to the South line of the Massachusetts Colony. Only it is provided that in case the line from Byram's Brook's mouth North north-west eight miles and the line that is then to run twelve miles to the end of the third forementioned line of eight miles do diminish or take away land within twenty miles of Hudson's River, that then so much as in land diminished of twenty miles of Hudson's River thereby shall be added out of

Connecticut bounds unto the line aforementioned parallel to Hudson's River and twenty miles distant from it, the addition to be made the whole length of the said parallel line, and in such breadth as will make up quantity for quantity what shall be diminished as aforesaid."

This agreement was ratified on the part of Connecticut by the General Assembly in May 1684, and the lines having been run, were approved by Governors Dungan and Treat of the two Colonies, Feb. 24th. 1685.*

In this agreement which finally settled the boundaries between Connecticut and New York, nothing is said of the Charter limits of the Two Governments. The Duke's Charter included most of the present State of Connecticut, a great part of Massachusetts, a part of New Hampshire, the whole of Vermont, and the whole of New Jersey. The Connecticut Charter which was two years older than the Dukes, extended through the State of New York westward to the Pacific Ocean, but in the purchase from the Plymouth Company on which the Charter was founded, the Dutch settlements were excepted, and in consequence of this exception the Duke held the territories bounded by the line established by this agreement.

Having thus taken a full view of the Charter limits of Connecticut it is proper that we now consider those of Pennsylvania. On the 4th of March 1681, King Charles II. granted a Charter to

*Trumbull.

William Penn, in consideration of a debt due by the English Government to his father Admiral Penn, including "All that tract or part of land in America with all the islands therein contained as the same is bounded on the East by Delaware river from twelve miles distant northwards of New Castle town unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude if the said river doth extend so far northward, but if the said river shall not extend so far northwards, then by the said river so far as it doth extend, and from the head of the said river the Eastern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line to be drawn from the head of the said river unto the said three and fortieth degree, the said lands to extend westward five degrees in longitude to be computed from the said Eastern bounds and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude."

This Charter extended the claims of Mr. Penn as far North as the northern boundary of Connecticut, and there was consequently an interference in the two claims equal to one degree of latitude and five degrees of longitude, including the Valley of Wyoming and the adjacent country. Thus stood the Charter claims between the respective parties; but the whole country on the upper waters of the Susquehanna being in possession of the Indians it became necessary to procure their title in order to secure a just and proper claim to the territory. It has been said by a person of respectability*

*Judge Patterson.

that " The Penn family had exclusively the right " of purchasing the lands of the Indians," &c. It is therefore proper to take a view of this part of the subject. In the Charter granted to the Plymouth Company they were not only authorised to take, occupy and possess all parts of their grant but to sell and dispose of any part of it, and in the Charter to Connecticut the King recognised the purchase from the Plymouth Company in the following words: " That the same Colony or the greater part thereof was purchased and obtained for great and valuable considerations, and some other parts thereof gained by conquest;" and in that part of the Charter where the pre-emption powers are given to the Colony, he says: " And also to have, take, possess, acquire and purchase, lands, tenements or hereditaments or any goods or chattels, and the same to lease, grant, demise, alien, bargain, sell and dispose of," &c. It appears evident from the Charter that the most extensive powers of pre-emption were given to the Colony. But in the Charter to William Penn no such powers were *expressly* given, and they can be claimed only by implication. It is evident however that the right of *purchasing* the lands from the Indians as well as of conquest, was intended to be given to all the Colonies and Plantations, otherwise their Charters would have been of very little consequence. The English Government however exercised the right of regulating the time and manner of such purchases, as the relations of peace or war might render necessary or proper.

In the year 1753, a number of persons principally inhabitants of Connecticut, formed themselves into a Company for the purpose of purchasing the Susquehanna lands of the Indians, and of forming settlements at Wyoming. This association was called the "*Susquehanna Company*," and during the same year they sent out Commissioners to explore the contemplated territory, and to establish a friendly intercourse with such Indian tribes as should be found in possession of it. A war having commenced between England and France, the English Government considered it highly necessary that a good understanding should be established between the inhabitants of their American Colonies and the Indian tribes bordering on their northern and western frontier, for should those tribes enter into the service of the French who were in possession of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, they might essentially contribute in extending the French arms over all the British Colonies in America. Orders were consequently received from England directing the Colonies to hold a general treaty with the Indians at Albany in 1754, and to form if possible such an alliance with them as would ensure their friendship and the safety of his Majesty's possessions in America. This treaty it was expected would form a favorable opportunity for purchasing lands of the Indians, and the Susquehanna Company appointed agents to attend at Albany for that purpose. It may be proper here to observe that in those days the inhabitants of the Colonies gener-

ally had very little knowledge of the extent and boundaries of the Royal grants. There was not perhaps, a *printed* copy of any of the Charters to be found in America, and even those persons who knew the terms in which the boundaries were described, had very little knowledge of their actual extent unless where a river or the sea formed the boundary. How far Pennsylvania extended north was not known, as no boundary line had ever been run, nor had the latitude of Wyoming Valley ever been ascertained. The Commissioners sent out by the Company to explore the country, found that it lay in a western direction from Connecticut proper, and beyond the limits of New York, and would consequently come within the limits of the Connecticut Charter, and the intentions of the Company to form settlements at Wyoming and to purchase these lands of the Indians were publicly known as well to the people of Pennsylvania as to those of Connecticut. The Governor of Pennsylvania however, and those best acquainted with the limits of the Province and the geography of the country, were well satisfied that Wyoming lay within the territory granted to William Penn.—James Hamilton who was at that time Governor of Pennsylvania under the Proprietaries, having been fully informed of the intentions of the Susquehanna Company, considered it proper that immediate measures should be taken to defeat those intentions, and to purchase the land for the use of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. Accordingly in a letter to Sir William Johnson his Majesty's Indian

agent for the Colony, dated at Philadelphia, March 20th. 1754, after informing him that the Connecticut people intended making a purchase of the Susquehanna lands at the treaty then soon to be held at Albany; he says: "As this Government "has determined to send Commissioners to the "general interview at Albany, I shall direct some "of the Commissioners to wait on you in order to "confer further with you of what may be necessary "to be done on this occasion, and in the mean "time I shall be much obliged to you to use your "good offices in behalf of this Government so far "as that nothing may be done with the Indians by "the Connecticut agents or any others in their be-"half, to the injury of the Proprietaries of this "Province."*

On the first day of the same month he wrote to the Governor of Connecticut, complaining of the intentions and measures of the Connecticut people who appeared to be preparing to form settlements within the Province of Pennsylvania, and requesting his Excellency's interference to prevent it.—This letter was sent express by Mr. John Armstrong, afterwards Secretary to the Government.

Governor Wolcott of Connecticut in his answer dated Windsor, March 13th. 1754, says: "Some "of our inhabitants hearing of this land at Sus-"quehanna and that it was north of the grant "made to Mr. Penn, and that to Virginia, are

*See copy of the letter on file in the Secretary's office, Harrisburg.

"upon a design of making a purchase of the In-
"dians and hope to obtain a grant of it from the
"Crown. This appearing a design to promote
"his majesty's interests and render the country
"more defensible we were all wishers to it. But
"Mr. Armstrong informs me that this is certainly
"within Mr. Penn's grant. If so I dont suppose
"our people had any purpose to quarrel with
"Pennsylvanians."*

It appears evidently to have been the intention of the Susquehanna Company to form a separate Colony of that part of the Chartered territory west of New York, as Connecticut itself had been formed from the Charter of New England; and to give the Colony authority to exercise a separate jurisdiction, a new Charter from the Crown would have been necessary.

It will have been observed that the modes of acquiring and possessing new lands under the Charters of Connecticut and Pennsylvania were essentially different from each other. In Pennsylvania the lands were all granted to *one individual*, and he had, therefore, and those claiming under him, the *exclusive* right of purchasing those lands of the Indians; but in the Connecticut Charter the lands were granted to the inhabitants of the Colony in their collective and corporate capacity, and until restrained by law, each individual possessed an equal right to purchase lands of the Indians and to

*See the original letter on file in the Secretary's office, Harrisburg.

occupy and enjoy them. In Pennsylvania William Penn and his Proprietary successors purchased the lands in large bodies from the Indians, and sold them out to individuals who made promiscuous settlements. In Connecticut, individuals or companies, and generally some religious congregation, took possession of any unoccupied lands, and having purchased the Indian title, or kept possession by force, commenced their settlements by townships or towns. Such was the mode pursued by the Susquehanna Company in relation to the lands at Wyoming.

When the commissioners from the different Colonies and plantations assembled at Albany, there appeared from Connecticut, William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott and Elisha Williams; and from Pennsylvania, John Penn, Richard Penn, Isaac Norris and Benjamin Franklin.

The agents of the Susquehanna company also attended and concluded a purchase of the Wyoming lands from the Indians, on the 11th. of July, 1754. The boundaries of which are thus described in their Deed bearing that date:—"Beginning from the one and fortieth degree of North latitude at ten miles East of the Susquehanna river and from thence with a northward line ten miles East of the river to the end of the forty-second or beginning of the forty-third degree of North latitude and so to extend West two degrees of longitude one hundred and twenty miles, and from thence South to the beginning of the forty-second degree, and from thence East to the above mentioned boundary

which is ten miles East of the Susquehanna river." This purchase included the Valley of Wyoming and the country westward to the head waters of the Allegheny river. The country lying between the line running ten miles East of the Susquehanna river, and the river Delaware, was purchased by another company called the *Delaware Company.*

The commissioners of Pennsylvania in conformity with their instructions from Governor Hamilton, held many conferences with the Indians during their continuance at Albany for the purpose of purchasing the same and other lands in Pennsylvania, and their reports of those conferences was read in council at Philadelphia on the 6th. of August, 1754, and entered in the minutes of the day, prefaced in the following words. "The commissioners of Pennsylvania having held a private treaty with the Six Nations whilst at Albany for the purchase of lands, their report was likewise read and ordered to be entered." In their report it appears that the commissioners made many attempts on the 4th. and 5th. of July to induce the Indians to sell the Wyoming lands to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and charged them with being disposed to sell to the Connecticut people. Peter Hendrick a chief who acted as one of the principal speakers on this occasion, became angry with the commissioners in consequence of their observations, and among other things said to them:—"We have "heard since we came here that our brother *Onas**

*Governor of Pennsylvania. The title was first

"and our brother of New England, have had some "disputes about the lands of Susquehanna; a dis- "pute of the same kind as that of the Governor of "Canada and Assaragoah; but we desire you "would not differ with one another about it for "neither shall have it. We will not part with "it to either of you—we will reserve it for our "western Indians to live upon." They however executed a Deed on the 6th. of July, to the Proprietors of Pennsylvania for a tract of land between the Blue Mountain and the forks of the Susquehanna river.

The Governor of Pennsylvania having been informed on the return of the commissioners from Albany, that the Susquehanna Company had effected a purchase of the Wyoming lands, wrote to Sir William Johnson on the 15th. of November 1754, requesting him to induce the Indians if possible to deny the regularity of the contract, and as a preparatory step towards effecting it, to win over Hendrick to his interest, and persuade him to visit Philadelphia. Gov. Morris also enclosed a letter to Hendrick from himself, in which among other things, he says:—"Some matters of great moment to this Government as well as to the Indians of the Six Nations, having lately fallen out, which makes it necessary for me to have a private conference with you before I can proceed to give public notice to them of my arrival here; and as you was so good as to promise to the commis-

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given to William Penn.

sioners when at Albany that you would, at the request of Government, come at any time to Philadelphia and give your sentiments on any thing that might be proposed for the public service, I now earnestly desire that you would favor us with a visit in order to consult on some affairs in which the safety of the Indians and his Majesty's colonies are very much concerned that cannot be done by message but must first be communicated to you in personal conference. If you should incline to take with you one or two of your best friends it will be the more agreeable. Mr. Daniel Clause is well acquainted with the nearest and best roads to this city, and he has my directions to accompany you, furnish the necessaries, and make everything as agreeable to you as possible."

Sir William Johnson in his answer dated Mount Johnson, Dec. 9, 1754, says:—

"I have been honored with yours of the 15th, ultimo by Mr. Daniel Clause, whom I immediately sent to call Hendrick to my house. Upon his arrival I delivered and interpreted your honor's letter or instructions to him, and urged his waiting on you immediately, which when he agreed to, I spoke to him concerning the affair as far as I judged necessary; and I flatter myself it will have a good effect, he having faithfully promised me to exert himself and use his utmost endeavors for the interest of the Proprietaries against the Connecticut attempt. After my expatiating some time on the injustice of their proceedings, more especially so after what had passed at Albany last June, Hen-

drick then with some warmth disapproved of them as well as the weakness of those of his brethren who were seduced by Lidias, and promised to do all he could to make them revoke or retract what they had so shamefully done."

The Susquehanna Company at this time consisted of six hundred and seventy-three persons, ten of whom were inhabitants of Pennsylvania, and having completed their purchase, concluded to divide the land into shares which were to be distributed among the several claimants. A general meeting of the company was therefore called to be holden at Hartford on the 20th of November, and a messenger was sent to Pennsylvania to notify the members resident in that Province. The messenger having arrived in Northampton County, was arrested upon a warrant issued by Daniel Brodhead, Esq. a magistrate of Lower Smithfield, who having ascertained many particulars concerning the company, immediately communicated them by letter to Richard Peters, Esq. a member of the Council of Pennsylvania. Upon receiving this information, Gov. Morris sent Mr. John Armstrong to Connecticut for the purpose of collecting whatever information could be obtained in relation to the Company and the measures which they intended to adopt. He was also the bearer of a letter from Governor Morris to the Governor of Connecticut. In which the former again refers to the Deed from the Six Nations to William Penn dated Oct. 11, 1736, and to the engagement then made by the Indians to sell all the lands in Pennsylvania to

William Penn and to no one else; after which he proceeds to say:

"You will give me leave further to observe to you that the Six Nations at the late Congress at Albany, in open council mentioned on application then made to them by agents from Connecticut for the purchase of some of the Susquehanna lands and that they had absolutely refused to give any ear to such proposal, telling the several Governments then present by their Commissioners that they were determined the lands at a place called Wyomink or the Susquehanna should not be settled, but reserved for a place of retreat." He further observes: "Notwithstanding which I am informed that Mr. John Lidias who is known to be a Roman Catholick, and in the French interest, has been since employed by some people of your Province to purchase from the Indians some lands within this Government: that he has in a clandestine manner, by very unfair means, prevailed on some few Indians to whom he secretly applied to sign a Deed for a considerable part of the lands of this Province, including those at Wyomink. And as we stand engaged to the Six Nations by treaty neither to settle the lands at Wyomink, or suffer them to be settled, this Government thought it proper (among other things) to inform the Indians that those people were not authorised or even countenanced by this Government, and their attempts were disavowed by the Government of Connecticut and were to be looked upon as a lawless set of people for whose conduct no Government is accountable."

It may be proper here to give some account of the Deed of 1736, and the Province spoken of.—It was "For all the said river Susquehanna with "the lands lying on both sides thereof, to extend "Eastward as far as the heads of the branches or "springs which run into the said Susquehanna, "and all the lands on the West side of the said "river to the setting of the sun: and to extend "from the mouth of said river up to the mountains "called in the language of the Six Nations, Tay-"amentasatchta, and by the Delaware Indians, "the Kakatchlanamin hills." These hills are what are now called the Blue Mountains, and they formed the northern boundary of this purchase. The Deed is signed by twenty-three chiefs of the Onondago, Seneca, Oneida and Tuscarora Nations.

A promise is annexed that they will never sell any lands within the "Government of Pennsylvania," to any persons but the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. It appears however by the speeches of various Indian chiefs at subsequent treaties, that the *Government* of Pennsylvania was supposed to extend no further North than those mountains, and the Indians, as Gov. Morris observed, had absolutely refused to sell the Wyoming lands; they were to be reserved as Hendrick remarked "for the Western Indians to live upon."

The Commissioners of Pennsylvania were aware that such was understood by the Indians to be the limits of the Government of Pennsylvania; and at the treaty at Albany on the 9th day of July, after the meeting of council that day, they drew a Deed

of promise which was endorsed on the Deed of Jan. 13, 1696, from Col. Dungan formerly Governer of New York to William Penn, and made part of a supplement to that Deed, by which instrument the Indians who signed it promised never to sell any lands in Pennsylvania, as the same is bounded by New York, except to the Proprietaries. To this promise they procured the signatures of nine of the Indians then present at the treaty.

Mr. Armstrong made a report to Gov. Morris on the 11th. of December, 1754, containing a particular statement of the information which he had collected during his tour to Connecticut, by which it appears that the Susquehanna company must have increased in numbers after the purchase. He says: "There were formerly five hundred subscribers at seven dollars each, to which are now added three hundred at nine dollars each."

After having concluded the negociation with the Six Nations, and become organised in a regular manner, the Susquehanna company made application to the Legislature of Connecticut requesting the concurrence of that body in an application to the King of Great Britain for a new Charter giving them authority to establish a new Colonial Government within the limits of their purchase. The Legislature received their petition very favorably and on the second Thursday in May 1755 passed a resolution approving of the measures of the company and recommended them to his Majesty's favor.*

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*These proceedings at large in Secretary's office.

In the summer of 1755 the company having procured the consent of the Colony of Connecticut for the establishment of a settlement, and if his majesty should consent, of a separate Government within the limits of their purchase, sent out a number of persons to Wyoming, accompanied by their surveyors and agents, to commence a settlement.—On their arrival, they found the Indians in a state of war with the English Colonies; and the news of the defeat of Gen. Braddock having been received at Wyoming, produced such an animating effect upon the Nanticoke tribe of Indians, that the members of the new Colony would probably have been retained as prisoners had it not been for the interference of some of the principal chieftains of the Delaware Indians, and particularly of Tedeuscund, who retained their attachment to their christian brethren of the Moravian Church, and their friendship in some degree for the English. The members of the Colony consequently returned to Connecticut, and the attempt to form a settlement at Wyoming was abandoned until a more favorable opportunity. The Nanticokes, having during the summer removed from Wyoming, united with their more powerful neighbors in persuading the Delaware Indians who alone remained in the Valley, to unite in the war against the English Colonies. To this measure the Delawares were already much inclined and the capture of Fort Oswego, which took place in August 1756, induced them to declare more openly their hostility against the English which had in some degree made its appearance af-

ter the defeat of Gen. Braddock. The Government of Pennsylvania seeing the necessity of negociating a peace with the Shawanese and Delaware Indians invited them to a treaty which was held at Easton in November, where a peace was concluded between those tribes and the English Colonies, an account of which is given in the preceding Chapter.

In the summer of 1757, the Delaware Company commenced a settlement at Coshutunk on the Delaware river which appears to have been the first settlement established within the limits of the Connecticut Charter West of the Province of New York; for although there appears to have been a small fort built at the Minisinks on the same river in 1670,* yet that fort was soon afterwards abandoned in consequence of some difficulties with the Indians, who refused to sell the lands.

A general peace having been effected with the Indians in 1758, the Susquehanna company resumed their intentions of forming a settlement at Wyoming, but the various events of the war between England and France which was at this time carried on with considerable vigor by their respective American Colonies, contributed to retard their measures for this purpose until the year 1762, when in the month of August about two hundred prisoners from the Colony of Connecticut arrived at Wyoming and commenced the first settlement there under the authority of the Company. On

*Trumbull.

the left bank of the river a short distance above the mouth of a fine stream which came in from the East, a spot was selected for cultivation. It was sufficiently distant from either of the Indian towns to prevent any interference in their agricultural pursuits, and here the settlers began their first improvements. A small house was built of logs at the mouth of the creek,* surrounded by several small cabins which formed the residence of the whole Colony, and here they were visited during their hours of relaxation by the Indians with whom they lived on terms of the utmost friendship and hospitality. They found the Valley covered with woods, except a few acres in the immediate vicinity of the Shawanese and Wyoming towns which had been improved by the Indians in the cultivation of their corn, and which was still in part occupied by them. The summer was so far advanced when the new Colony arrived, that they could only prepare a few acres for wheat, and as provisions for their sustenance during the winter could not be procured from the Indians, they concealed their tools and implements of husbandry, and in November departed for their former habitations in New England.

While the Susquehanna company were projecting and pursuing these measures, the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, foreseeing that important difficulties would arise in the settlement of the controversy with the people of Connecticut, and

*Since called "Mill-creek."

that the King of England was too much occupied by his war with France to undertake the settlement of Colonial disputes, submitted to the English Attorney General, for his opinion among others, the following question :—

" Whether the people of Connecticut have any color or pretence under their Charter to set up this right to this tract of land westward of New Jersey through Pennsylvania as far as the South Sea ; and what is most advisable for the Proprietaries to do in case the Government of Connecticut persist in their claim ?"

Mr. Pratt the Attorney General, afterwards Lord Camden, delivered his reply to Mr. Penn in March 1761, and as the station as well as the talents of this gentleman entitle his opinion to some respect, it may be well to give it at large on this question. He says :—

" If all the Colonies in North America were to remain at this day bounded in point of right as they are described in the original grant of each I do not believe there is one settlement in that part of the globe that has not been encroached upon, or else usurped upon its neighbour, so that if the grants were of themselves the only rule between the contending plantations there never would be an end to the dispute without unsettling large tracts of land where the inhabitants have no better title to produce than either possession or posterior grants, which in point of law would be suspended by prior Charters. Hence I conceive that many other circumstances must be taken into consideration besides the parch-

ment boundary, for that may at this day be extended or narrowed by possession, acquiescence or agreement, by the situation and condition of the territory at the time of the grant, as well as by various other matters with respect to the present dispute. The western boundary of Connecticut was barred at the time of the original grant by the Dutch settlements and the crown was deceived when they were prevailed upon to convey a territory which belonged to another State then in amity with the crown of England. Besides this objection the settlement of the new boundary under the King's commission in 1664, and what is still stronger, the new line marked out by agreement between this Province and New York, has now conclusively precluded Connecticut from advancing one foot beyond those limits. It was absolutely necessary for the crown, after the cession of the New Netherlands, to decide the clashing rights of the Duke of York and the adjoining Colonies; and therefore all that was done by virtue of the commission then awarded for that purpose must at this day be decreed valid as the nations have ever since that time submitted to those determinations, and the Colonies of New York and New Jersey submit only upon the authority of those acts. I am of opinion therefore that the Colony of Connecticut has no right to resume its ancient boundary by overleaping the Province of New York so as to encroach upon the Pennsylvania grant, which was not made until after the Connecticut boundary had been reduced by new confines, which restored the

land beyond those settlements westward to the crown and laid them open to a new grant. The state of the country in dispute is a material state reason why the crown ought to interfere in the present case and put a stop to this growing mischief. But I doubt this business cannot be adjusted very soon because Mr. Penn must apply to the crown for relief, which method of proceeding will necessarily take up time as the Province of Connecticut must have notice and be heard."

The position assumed by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, being calculated to exclude the Colony of Connecticut from all her claims westward of New York, very naturally excited the interest of the inhabitants of that Colony, and the Government feeling an equal desire to have their claims fully examined, submitted the subject to the consideration of learned and eminent council in England, who gave their opinion in favor of the Connecticut claim, as follows:—

"The agreement between the Colony of Connecticut and the Province of New York can extend no further than to settle the boundaries between the respective parties, and can have no effect upon any claims that either of them had in other parts, and as the Charter of Connecticut was granted but eighteen years before that to Sir William Penn, there is no good ground to contend that the crown could at that period make an effectual grant to him of that country which had so recently been granted to others: but if the country had actually been settled under the latter grant, it would now be a

matter of considerable doubt whether the right of the occupiers, or the title under which they hold, could be impeached by a prior grant without actual settlement."

The settlement at Coshutunk continued to progress. In 1760 it contained thirty dwelling houses, three large log houses, one block house for defence, one grist-mill and one saw-mill.

Early in the spring of 1763, the Susquehanna adventurers returned to Wyoming with their families and a number of new emigrants, with a view of commencing a permanent settlement; for which purpose they brought a number of cattle and hogs, and considerable stores of provisions for immediate use. They took possession of their former dwellings at the mouth of the creek which they found in the same condition in which they had been left the preceding autumn, and commenced their labours by extending their improvements upon the West side of the river. The Indians in the Valley still continued apparently friendly, and although they acknowledged the power and influence of the Six Nations, they considered themselves as entitled to some compensation for the lands occupied by the Connecticut people, and appeared to view with suspicion the increasing number of their new neighbors.

These suspicions were much increased by the conduct of several warriors of the Six Nations who, having cherished a hatred against Tedeuscund since the peace of 1758, a hatred which his influence among the white people was not calculated to

diminish, came among the Delawares under the garb of friendship, and having in the night treacherously set fire to the dwelling of Tedeuscund, the building, together with the venerable chieftain was consumed, and the crime laid to the charge of the new Colonists. During the preceding summer the friendly disposition manifested by the Indians to the Wyoming settlers, as the Connecticut emigrants were called, had created a degree of confidence on their part which had prevented any expectation of danger; and fearing that warlike arms might create suspicion, they had not furnished themselves with any, and were almost destitute of any means of defence in case of an attack from the savages. While thus unsuspicious and occupied as usual with the labors of the field, they were attacked on the fifteenth of October by a party of Indians who massacred about twenty persons, took several prisoners and having seized upon the live stock drove it towards their Town. Those who escaped, hastened to their dwellings, gave the alarm to the families of those who were killed, and the remainder of the Colonists, men, women and children, fled precipitately to the mountains, from whence they beheld the smoke arising from their late habitations and the savages feasting on the remains of their little property. They had taken no provisions with them except what they had hastily seized in their flight, and must pass through a wilderness sixty miles in extent before they could reach the Delaware river. They had left brothers, husbands and sons to the mercy of the savages;—

they had no means of defence in case they should be attacked, and found themselves exposed to the cold winds of autumn without sufficient raiment. With these melancholy recollections and cheerless prospects did the fugitives commence a journey of two hundred and fifty miles on foot.

The report of this circumstance having reached Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, a detachment of militia from that Province under the command of Colonel James Boyd was ordered to march from Harrisburg to Wyoming and disperse the savages. Col. Boyd was also nominated a commissioner on the part of Pennsylvania to act in conjunction with such person as might be appointed on the part of Connecticut (agreeably to his majesty's order in such cases,) to put a stop to all disorders and establish tranquillity in the Colony. On the arrival of the detachment at Wyoming they found the Valley abandoned by the Indians who had scalped those whom they had killed and carried away their captives and plunder. The bodies of the slain lay strewed upon the field, and Col. Boyd having caused them to be decently interred, withdrew with his detachment down the river. The hostile Indians had fled to *Sheshequanni* or *Sheshequinunk*, an Indian Town on the Bank of the Susquehanna a little below Tioga Point or *Tyogo*; but those who continued friendly to the English and had embraced the christian religion, removed to Gnaddenhutten on the Lehigh near the English settlement, where they were taken under the protection of the Moravian Church. A definitive treaty

of peace being concluded between England and France in 1763, hostilities between their American Colonies consequently ceased and the different Indian tribes resumed their friendly traffic with the English settlements. The christian Indians afterwards removed in a body to Wyalusing on the Susquehanna, where, in the year 1765, they built a regular town on the bank of the river near the mouth of Wyalusing creek, and erected a spacious church. Here they attended strictly to their religious duties and employed themselves principally in agricultural pursuits.

Peace having been established between the English Colonies and the different tribes of Indians bordering upon their frontier settlements, the British ministry considered it a favorable time to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the Indians and to fix and establish a permanent and certain boundary line between the Indian territories and the lands which had been at different times purchased by the Colonies, and accordingly gave orders for effecting these objects to the different Colonial and Provincial Governments. In pursuance of these orders a general treaty was held with the Indians at Fort Stanwix near the Oneida lake, in October 1768, where various purchases of lands were made, and such agreements entered into with the Indian tribes as were well calculated to preserve a good understanding between them and the English Colonies. At this treaty the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania procured a Deed from a number of the chiefs of the Six Nations, dated on the 5th. day of November,

1768, for all the lands not previously sold to the Proprietaries lying within the Province of Pennsylvania. This purchase included Wyoming and all the lands previously sold by the chiefs of the same Nations to the Susquehanna company. The reader perhaps, is aware that an *Indian gift* and an *Indian bargain* are proverbial. The Indians would probably have sold the land as often as they could have received pay for it. After the conclusion of the treaty the Susquehanna company held a general meeting at Hartford, and entered into particular resolutions relative to the settlement of Wyoming. In these resolutions they say: that in 1763, having been advised that his majesty had inhibited all settlements of lands adjoining the Indian territory until precautions should be taken by his majesty's orders for preventing troubles with the Indians, and as those precautions have been made at the treaty at Fort Stanwix, they resolve that forty persons, being proprietors, shall proceed to Wyoming to commence settlements by the first of February; that two hundred more shall follow them early in the spring, and that £200 shall be immediately appropriated to provide implements of husbandry and provisions for the forty. Their resolutions appointed a committee consisting of Isaac Tripp, Benjamin Follet, John Jenkins, William Buck and Benjamin Shoemaker, being part of the forty, who were to have the government and superintendence of the new Colony. This committee were to be increased to the number of nine persons on the arrival of the 200 men, and they were

authorised to exercise legislative, executive and judicial powers for the order and good government of the settlement; but there was an appeal reserved from this tribunal to a general meeting of the whole company, which, as in the system of Lycurgus, possessed the only real sovereign authority. The Proprietaries of Pennsylvania having effected a purchase of the Wyoming lands, and being informed of the intentions of the Susquehanna company to resume their settlements, took immediate measures to get possession of the territory, in order to defeat the intentions of the company. For this purpose a lease was drawn by John Penn on the part of the Proprietaries to Charles Stewart, Amos Ogden and John Jennings, for one hundred acres of land at Wyoming for the term of seven years. They were to establish a house there for the purpose of trading with the Indians, and were to defend themselves and those who might go on under them, as well as their possessions, against all enemies whatsoever.* Stewart was a surveyor, and in compliance with the directions of the Proprietaries he surveyed and laid out the Valley into two extensive manors for their use: one on the East side of the river extending from Nanticoke Falls to Manokony Island, and from the river nearly to the foot of the mountain including the old Wyoming Town, was called the "Manor of Stoke;" and the other on the West side nearly of the same extent was called the "Manor of Sunbury." These

*See lease on file in Secretary's office.

lessees with several other adventurers removed to Wyoming in January 1769, and took possession of the improvements made by the Connecticut people from which they had been driven by the Indians in 1763. On the 8th. of February 1769, the forty persons selected by the Susquehanna company arrived at Wyoming, and found Stewart and Ogden with their party in possession of their former improvements and well secured in a fortified block house at the mouth of Mill creek. They accordingly took possession of another piece of ground and built temporary huts for their protection during the remainder of the winter. Having soon afterwards ascertained that the Ogden party claimed the land under grants from the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and that their garrison was small, they adopted such measures as cut off the communication between the block-house and the surrounding country, and entirely invested the Pennsylvania garrison. Ogden and Stewart having been apprized of the approach of the Connecticut party by express from Mr. Vancampen on the Delaware, despatched a messenger on the 6th. to Gov. Penn with the intelligence, informing him that their garrison consisted of only ten persons at that time, and that reinforcements with provisions would be immediately necessary. Having waited several days with a hope of receiving reinforcements, and finding that hope likely to fail, Ogden had recourse to stratagem to effect what he had not power to execute by force. He accordingly, after exhibiting his little garrison to the best advantage, addressed a note to

the Connecticut settlers inviting some of their principal men to his house under pretext of effecting an amicable negociation concerning their respective titles. The invitation was accepted, and Isaac Tripp, Vine Elderkin and Benjamin Follett repaired to the block-house where they were immediately seized by Jennings who was Sheriff of Northampton County, and being conveyed to Easton, were thrown into prison. Their companions were sufficiently numerous to have rescued them, but would not attempt it through fear of endangering the safety of the prisoners. They accompanied the Sheriff to Easton, and having procured bail for their peaceable behavior, the whole party returned again to Wyoming. In the month of March Jennings having ascertained that the settlement of Connecticut people was increasing, assembled a number of persons as a posse, and being accompanied by Lewis Gordon, Anson Depui and Henry Hooker, three Justices of the Peace, proceeded to Wyoming. On their arival the Connecticut people apprized of their approach had secured themselves in a fortified house, but the Sheriff and his posse, having succeeded in forcing it open, seized them and carried the whole, to the number of thirty one persons, to Easton, except a few who escaped on their march through the swamp.

In April the two hundred emigrants appointed by the Susquehanna company arrived at Wyoming, and were joined by those who had been taken to Easton and had been liberated on giving bail.—The new Colony, finding they were exposed to be

annoyed by the Pennsylvania party, built a Fort a short distance from the bank of the river by the side of a small stream which flows through the plain, to which they gave the name of "Fort Durkee" in honor of the person who was chosen to command the garrison. Near the Fort they erected about twenty log houses which were provided with loop-holes to fire through in case of an attack. Their Fort consisted of a strong block-house surrounded by a rampart and entrenchment, and being guarded by the river on one side, and a morass extending along the brook on another, afforded a very secure place of refuge in case it should be necessary to abandon their houses. Jennings and Ogden, who had left Wyoming for a few weeks, being informed that the Connecticut people were again collecting at that place, assembled as many as they could persuade to accompany them, and proceeded to Wyoming, where they arrived on the 24th. of May, but finding the Connecticut people too numerous and too well fortified to justify an attack upon them, returned again to Easton, and made a report to the Governor in which Jennings says: he "does not believe it is possible to raise a force in the county strong enough to dispossess them, they being by account upwards of 300 able bodied men."

The new Colony having fortified themselves and commenced their agricultural operations for the summer, the Susquehanna company thought it a favorable time to open negociations with the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and accordingly in

May Colonel Dyer and Major Elderkin were sent with full powers to negociate for a settlement of all disputes concerning the Wyoming lands, who, on their arrival in Philadelphia, submitted to Benjamin Chew, Esq. agent for the Proprietaries, the following proposition:

"Shall all matters in dispute between the Susquehanna company and the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania relative to the claim made by the former of lands within the Charter limits of Pennsylvania be referred to a *Court of Law* to be selected or constituted by the parties, or to *Referees* to be mutually chosen by the parties, and in either case the decision to be conclusive."

This proposition was rejected as preparations were then in train for sending an armed force to Wyoming to dispossess the Colony. A full copy of the resolutions and proceedings of the Susquehanna company at their general meeting held at Hartford during the previous winter, had been sent to Governor Penn, by Sir Henry Moore, Governor of New York, and had been considered by the council of the 18th. of February, 1769. In consequence of these resolutions, and the events which had subsequently transpired, an armed force was sent to Wyoming under the command of Col. Francis, who appeared before Fort Durkee on the 22d. of June, and demanded a surrender of the garrison and settlement into his hands. This demand was promptly refused, and the Colonel, after reconnoitering the position of the Connecticut forces, and finding them too strongly entrenched to be

captured by his forces, withdrew his troops without commencing any attack. The Proprietaries, finding by the report of Col. Francis that a more powerful force was necessary, concluded to send the Sheriff of Northampton with a powerful posse of that county to dispossess the Wyoming settlers. Accordingly a long and formal letter of instructions was made out by Mr. Penn at Philadelphia, on the 24th. of August, 1769, and directed to John Jennings, Sheriff of Northampton county, directing him to raise the posse of the county, and proceed to Wyoming to dispossess all persons whom he might find settled there under any other title than that of the Proprietaries. In these instructions the Governor says:

"It is however warmly recommended to you, to exercise on this unhappy occasion the utmost discretion and prudence, to avoid the effusion of blood, and that neither you or your party strike, fire at, or wound the offenders, unless you are first stricken, fired at or wounded."

In pursuance of these instructions Jennings assembled a large force in Northampton county, and having been furnished with a large quantity of fire arms, an iron four pounder, and a quantity of fixed ammunition; he proceeded to Wyoming, accompanied by several magistrates. Ogden and his party, having been informed of the Sheriff's approach, suddenly surrounded the houses of some of the settlers with about forty armed men, and took by surprize several prisoners, among whom was Col. Durkee who was taken to the Philadel-

phia prison. Two days afterwards Jennings and his armed force arrived and paraded to the number of 200 men before Fort Durkee, where they continued on a parley with the garrison, while Ogden and his party collected and drove away all the cattle and horses in the neighborhood. The next day Jennings and his party again assembled in front of the Fort and began to erect a battery on which they mounted the four pounder. The garrison having been deprived of one of their commanders, (Col. Durkee,) and having no means of defence but muskets and rifles, and seeing that a regular siege was about to be commenced, concluded to surrender the Fort to Jennings. Articles of capitulation were accordingly entered into between the parties by which the Fort and buildings were to be given up to Ogden, Jennings and their party. Fourteen men were to remain in possession of their houses on the part of Connecticut, with their families and effects, and to take care of, and harvest the grain sowed, and to hold possession on the part of the Susquehanna company, until his majesty's pleasure in the premises should be known. These articles having been duly exchanged and the Connecticut settlers, with the exception of the seventeen, having peaceably left the disputed territory, Ogden and his party commenced an indiscriminate plunder of whatever could be found in the settlement, cattle, sheep, swine, and other articles, were taken and carried to market upon the Delaware.—The seventeen settlers who were left in possession being thus deprived of the means of sustenance du-

ring the winter, were under the necessity of leaving their habitations and returning to their friends in New England.

In the month of February, 1770, a number of people from Lancaster county, at the head of whom was Lazarus Stewart, accompanied by a number of the Connecticut people, under arms, proceeded to Wyoming, and finding in Fort Durkee a garrison of only 8 or 10 men, took possession of the Fort without opposition. They then sent a party to Ogden's house at Mill creek and took from it the four pounder which was deposited there, and conveyed it to the Fort, Ogden being then absent. On being informed of these transactions, Ogden returned to Wyoming and collected his party into his house which they again fortified. On the 28th. of March about fifty armed men from the garrison of Fort Durkee, proceeded to Ogden's house in order if possible to make him prisoner, but a Deputy of the Sheriff was then in the house, having accompanied Ogden home, and he immediately proceeded with the force which was then in the house to arrest the party from the Fort. On the approach of the deputy and his party a skirmish ensued in which several of the Connecticut party were wounded, and one man of the name of Stager killed. Which party commenced the fire is not known, as each accused the other of doing it. The party from the Fort finding that Ogden and his party in the house were armed and could fire at them without being exposed, his house being a well built block-house fitted for a siege, returned to Fort

Durkee to devise means of expelling Ogden and his party from the settlement before reinforcements could arrive, each party being too strong in its fortification to be taken by storm with the forces the other possessed. In pursuance of the resolution agreed upon in full council at Fort Durkee, the Connecticut party, on the 9th. of April commenced the erection of a block-house on the West side of the river, opposite Ogden's block-house, which they fortified in a strong manner, and in which they mounted the four-pounder which they had taken from Ogden. With this piece they commenced a cannonade upon Ogden's house, which was removed at intervals for several days; but finding that it did not force Ogden to surrender, and their shot nearly expended, they resolved upon a different manner of attack. Accordingly on the 23d. of April, the Connecticut party marched in columns from Fort Durkee with drums beating, and having advanced near Ogden's house, they formed into three divisions, and each division commenced the erection of a breast-work which was completed about noon, when a fire opened from each upon the block-house. This fire was returned by Ogden and his party, and was continued at intervals between the two parties for five days. On the 25th. the third day of the siege, a detachment from the Connecticut party advanced from one of the breast-works under a fire from the block-house, and set fire to one of Ogden's houses which was consumed together with a considerable quantity of goods and provisions. On the 28th.

Major Durkee who had returned from Philadelphia, and who commanded the Connecticut party, sent a flag with a note to Capt. Ogden requesting a conference. Ogden accordingly waited on the Major for that purpose, when a cessation of hostilities until the next day at 12 o'clock were agreed upon. On the next day (the 29th. of April,) articles of capitulation were entered into by which it was agreed that Ogden and his party, who had no improvements upon the land, should depart the territory by the first of March—and that six men of Ogden's party should remain to take care of the property belonging to that party, and should occupy one of the houses. After Ogden had departed in pursuance of these articles, some difficulties arose between the six men and the Connecticut party, and the latter remembering the last capitulation, took possession of Ogden's property and burnt his house. Among the prisoners that were found in Ogden's block-house after the capitulation, were eight men from New England, and three Germans who had never been at Wyoming, and who mistook Capt. Ogden's house for the Fort. The number of killed and wounded during the siege of Ogden's block-house, is not now known. After the attack of the 28th of March, Ogden despatched a messenger to Gov. Penn, informing him of the investment of his block-house, and the necessity of reinforcements; but as dissatisfaction to a very great degree had already manifested itself between the American Colonies and the Government of Great Britain, Governor Penn, like other Colonial

Governors, found his authority very fast declining, and not being able to afford the relief so immediately necessary to Ogden, he wrote from Philadelphia on the 6th. of April to General Gage who then commanded his majesty's troops in the city of New York, for the assistance of the force under his command. In his letter, after informing the General that the Connecticut people were forming settlements in Pennsylvania, that they had built a large stockade fort at Wyoming, &c. he says:—"They have lately gone so far as to fire upon a party of our people who had several of their associates under legal arrest which obliged them to return the fire, and it unfortunately happened that one of the rioters was killed and another wounded." He goes on further to add: "Not having any militia in the Province, I find myself under the disagreeable necessity of applying for the aid of the military to support the civil power." Gen. Gage, in his answer dated New York, April 15, 1770, among other things says: "The troops in all the Provinces have orders in general to assist the civil power when they shall be legally called upon, but the affair in question seems to be a dispute concerning property in which I cannot but think it would be highly improper for the King's troops to interfere." Not succeeding in this attempt to obtain assistance, the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania concluded to assemble such forces as their personal exertions could raise, for the recovery of Wyoming; and accordingly in September a force of one hundred and forty men was placed under

the command of Capt. Ogden. A Proclamation had been published at Philadelphia by Gov. Penn on the 28th. day of June, directing all intruders to depart from Wyoming, and forbidding any settlements to be made there without the consent of the Proprietaries, and Ogden marched with his forces, accompanied by Aaron Van Campen, Esq. and other civil officers, ostensibly for the purpose of carrying this Proclamation into effect. Ogden, knowing his strength was insufficient for the reduction of the settlement in case the settlers should be in garrison, concluded if possible to attack them by surprize ; and to effect this the more safely, he commenced his march by way of Fort Allen on the Lehigh near the Water-gap, and thence by the warrior's path to Wyoming. Having arrived in sight of the Wyoming mountains they left the path for the greater safety, and on the night of the 21st. of September encamped on the head waters of Solomon's creek. In the morning of the 22d., Ogden with a few attendants ascended the high nob of Bullock's mountain, now called "Penobscott," which commands a view of the whole Valley of Wyoming, from which with his glasses he observed the settlers leave the fort and go into the fields in detached parties at a distance to their work. He concluded to attack them in this situation unprovided with arms, and accordingly divided his forces into several detachments which commenced their attacks nearly at the same time. The working parties were immediately dispersed in every direction, and many of them were taken

prisoners and sent under an escort to Easton Jail; the greater number succeeded in reaching the Fort where they immediately prepared for their defence. Night was approaching and Ogden did not think proper to attack the Fort. He accordingly removed his troops with their booty to their encampment at Solomon's Gap. A consultation was held in Fort Durkee, and it was concluded as they had provision and ammunition to last some time, to send messengers to Coshutunk on the Delaware, for assistance. Accordingly about midnight the messengers departed, and thinking that Ogden and his party would be likely to guard the direct road to Coshutunk, they concluded to go out through Solomon's Gap. Ogden's party for their better security had encamped without fires, and took the messengers prisoners in the Gap; they learned from them the confused situation of the Fort, filled with men, women and children. Upon receiving this intelligence they concluded to make an immediate attack upon the Fort. Accordingly Ogden's whole force was immediately put in motion, and a detachment commanded by Capt. Craig suddenly entered the fort under cover of the night, knocked down the centinel and arrived at the door of the block-house before the garrison received notice of the attack. Several of the latter were killed in attempting to make resistance in the block-house, and Capt. Craig's men having forced a number into a small room where they were trampling upon the women and children, knocked down Capt. Butler and were about to pierce him

with their bayonets, when Capt. Craig himself entered the apartment, drove the soldiers back and prevented further bloodshed. The Fort being thus taken, the principal portion of the garrison were again sent to prison at Easton, but Capt. Butler and a few others were conducted to Philadelphia where they were confined.

Ogden and his party then plundered the settlement of whatever moveable property they could find, and having formed a garrison in the Fort, withdrew with his booty to the settlements below the mountains where most of his men resided.—The Connecticut party having disappeared, the garrison considered themselves as secure, the Fort being in a good state of defence; but on the 18th of December about 3 o'clock in the morning, while the garrison were asleep, a body of armed men, consisting of twenty-three persons from Hanover in Lancaster county, and six from New England, under the command of Capt. Lazarus Stewart, suddenly entered the fort and gave the alarm to the garrison by a general huzza for King George. The garrison at this time consisted of only eighteen men besides a considerable number of women and children, who occupied several houses erected within the ramparts of the Fort. Six of the men made their escape by leaping from the parapet, and flying naked to the woods; the remaining twelve were taken prisoners, who, with the women and children, after being deprived of their moveable property, were driven from the Valley, and Stewart and his party garrisoned the Fort.

CHAPTER III.

Fort Durkee besieged—Nathan Ogden killed—Fort Durkee abandoned—Wyoming Fort built and besieged—Amos Ogden escapes from the Fort—Pennsylvania Garrison re-enforced by troops under Col. Clayton. Wyoming Fort surrendered to the Connecticut forces—Civil Government established at Wyoming as a separate Colony—Wilkesbarre built—Connecticut sends Commissioners to treat with Pennsylvania—Negociations on that subject—Wyoming settlements apply to be taken under the protection of Connecticut—Civil Government established there by Connecticut—Connecticut settlement on the West Branch of the Susquehanna destroyed—War with England—Wyoming settlers apply to Congress—Resolutions of that body—Plunket's expedition to Wyoming—Invasion by the British and Indians—Battle and Massacre of Wyoming—Wilkesbarre burnt—Skirmish at Laurel Run—Arrival of General Sullivan's army—His victory over the Indians—Decree at Trenton—Pennsylvania Commissioners sent to Wyoming—Great Ice-freshet—Inhabitants of Wyoming driven from their settlements by Pennsylvania troops—Murder of Pierce and Garret—Garrison formed at Forty-Fort.

Frontier warfare has been in all ages and in all countries much the same, an irregular and unrestrained exhibition of the human passions; and the reader will observe in the troubles at Wyoming,

and the "border wars" of former times, as great a similarity as the situation of the country, and the improvements in the art of war, would permit. Fort Durkee, and Ogden's block-house, like two ancient Castles, became alternately the property of the victorious party, and an indiscriminate plunder was the consequence of a defeat.

After Ogden's house had been plundered and consumed, the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania issued warrants for the arrest of Lazarus Stewart, Lazarus Young and Zebulon Butler, for the crime of arson, and in pursuance of one of these warrants Stewart was arrested in Lebanon, Pennsylvania; but a number of his associates being near, and hearing of his arrest, suddenly rode into the town under arms to rescue him, and on their approach Stewart knocked down the Constable and joined his companions, who having bid defiance to the civil authority of the village, deliberately departed with Stewart at their head. Information being now received that Stewart and his party were in possession of Fort Durkee, a new warrant was issued by Thomas Willing, Esq. a Judge of the Supreme Court, for his apprehension, directed to Peter Hacklein, Esq. Sheriff of Northampton County, who raised a posse and proceeded to Wyoming, where he arrived on the 18th. of January, 1771, and demanded admittance into the Fort. Stewart informed him from the parapet that none but friends could be admitted; that Wyoming was under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, and that he should recognize no authority whatev-

er in any persons acting under commissions from the Government of Pennsylvania. The approach of night closed this parley, and the Sheriff and his posse withdrew to a new block-house which Ogden and his party had began to build. Finding that a siege would perhaps be necessary, the next day (being Sunday,) the Sheriff and his posse assisted Ogden in completing and fortifying his block-house. On Monday morning Nathan Ogden accompanied the Sheriff and his posse to the Fort, when admittance was again demanded and refused, upon which Ogden and his party commenced a fire upon the Fort. The fire was immediately returned by which Ogden was killed, and three others wounded. The Sheriff and his posse, having secured the body of Ogden, withdrew to the block-house to consult upon further measures, which occupied the day; and during the following night Stewart and about forty of his party abandoned the Fort, leaving it in the possession of twelve men who the next day surrendered to the Sheriff and his posse. Gov. Penn in his message to the General Assembly represents this transaction as a most treacherous murder, and by their recommendation offered a reward of three hundred pounds for the apprehension of Lazarus Stewart. The Sheriff having given possession of the Fort to Amos Ogden, withdrew with his prisoners to Easton, and Ogden formed a garrison and induced most of his former associates to return to their possessions. Affairs there continued quiet until the 6th. of July when upwards of seventy of the Connecticut party armed

and under the command of Captain Zebulon Butler, joined by a party under the command of Capt. Lazarus Stewart, returned to Wyoming to recover possession of their lands. Ogden and his party, consisting of men, women and children, amounted at that time to eighty-two persons, who immediately took refuge in the Fort and prepared for their defence. This was a new Fort built on the bank of the River a short distance above Fort Durkee to which Ogden had given the name of Wyoming Fort. On the night of the 9th. of July the Connecticut party commenced the erection of two small redoubts; one on the bank of the river a little below and within musket shot of the Fort—the other on the point of a hill a short distance above the Fort, having command of the river. These entrenchments were so far completed by day-break as to afford protection to the detachments occupied in their construction. The following day two other entrenchments were formed, one on the West side of the river opposite the Fort, and the other further up the hill on the East side. A few days afterwards re-enforcements arrived to the Connecticut party which then amounted to about one hundred and fifty effective men. Wyoming Fort was by these means completely invested, and all communication with the surrounding country entirely cut off; but the garrison possessed the means of defending themselves as long as their provisions and ammunition should last. Ogden who was ignorant of the actual strength of the Connecticut party, seeing himself thus besieged without any

prospect of escape or of receiving supplies, and knowing the necessity of conveying intelligence and applying for assistance, to the Government of Pennsylvania, resolved upon an attempt, which, for resolution and courage may vie with the most celebrated individual actions of modern times. On the night of the 12th. of July, he escaped from the Fort by the following means. Having tied a portion of his clothes in a bundle, with his hat upon the top of them, and having connected them to his body by a cord of several feet in length, he committed himself to the river, and floated gently down the current, with the bundle following him at the end of the cord. Three of the redoubts commanded the river for a considerable distance above and below, and the centinels by means of the star-light observing some object floating upon the river which excited suspicion, commenced a fire upon it, which was continued from two of the redoubts for some time, until observing that its motion was very uniform and no faster than the current, their suspicions and their firing ceased. Ogden escaped unhurt, but his clothes and hat were pierced with several balls. He arrived at Philadelphia on the 15th. and immediately communicated to the Council the unpleasant situation of the little Colony at Wyoming.

On the following day the Council resolved "That an hundred men should be hired to accompany the Sheriff to Wyoming for the purpose aforesaid, and that a quantity of provisions should be immediately provided in town and sent up to

Northampton ;" and " in order to defray the expenses which must necessarily arise, the Receiver General may be justified in paying the drafts of this Board for £300.*

The troops thus hired for the reduction of Wyoming were placed under the command of Colonel Asher Clayton ; and two divisions, one commanded by Capt. Joseph Morris, and the other by Capt. John Dick, were to march at different times through the swamp. While measures were taking to raise these troops, which it was found very difficult to accomplish, the siege of Wyoming Fort was conducted with unabated rigor. Col. Dick having succeeded in collecting thirty-one men, after receiving the provisions of nearly a hundred, set out with a number of pack-horses loaded with provisions for Wyoming, where he arrived on Tuesday the 30th, of July about the dawn of day. The Connecticut party had been apprized of his approach, and they had formed an ambuscade near the Fort to interrupt his march and secure the provisions, and as Capt. Dick and his men advanced they were fired upon from the bushes, and thrown into great confusion. Twenty two of them succeeded in getting into the Fort, and the remainder, with four horses loaded with provisions fell into the hands of the Connecticut party. After the arrival of Capt. Dick the garrison consisted of forty-nine men able to bear arms, two wounded men, and forty-eight women and children. Upon this gar-

*See minutes of Council, Book U, page 209.

rison a fire was commenced on the same day from four batteries or redoubts, and continued without much intermission until the night of the 10th of August. On the 11th. Capt. Butler sent a flag demanding a surrender of the Fort, but the garrison having promptly refused to comply with the demand, the attack again commenced with a wooden cannon, which burst at the second discharge. The garrison were induced to hold out under the hope of receiving re-enforcements; for in addition to those who were expected to follow the detachment which had arrived, Capt. Dick had succeeded in despatching a messenger immediately after his arrival with an account of their situation; and the Executive Council after considering his letter ordered that one hundred additional men be raised with the utmost expedition, and the President immediately advanced £300 to defray the expenses of the enterprize. The Fort continued to be closely besieged and the firing continued from day to day whenever any person appeared upon the ramparts. The garrison had for many days been upon very short allowance, as the small quantity of provisions with which Capt. Dick succeeded in entering the Fort, served only as a temporary relief. On the 14th. of August, their provisions being all exhausted and no appearance of supplies, it was concluded to surrender the Fort to the Connecticut party, and articles of capitulation were agreed upon by which Col. Clayton and his troops, and Ogden and his party should all remove from Wyoming.

During the siege a number of persons were wounded in the Fort, and among others Amos Ogden, who being faint from the loss of blood, was reclining upon William Ridyard his junior officer, when a shot from the redoubt on the West bank of the river, entered the door of the block-house and instantly killed Ridyard who was the only person killed during the siege. The number of killed and wounded among the Connecticut party was not ascertained. A re-enforcement of sixty men under the command of Capt. Andrew Ledlie, were sent by the Government of Pennsylvania for the relief of the garrison, and when the Fort surrendered they had advanced within ten miles of Wyoming, and were encamped upon a stream on the mountain called "Ten mile Run." Having at this place received information that the Fort was closely besieged, and that it would then be impracticable to enter with their provisions, Capt. Ledlie had concluded to send a quantity of Flour by way of the Lackawannock ten miles above the Fort, and to cross the river with a part of his forces, and commence an attack upon the block-house on the West side of the river. It was expected that this attack would draw the attention of the Connecticut party to the defence of that post, and give an opportunity for the escort with the prisoners to enter the Fort and relieve the garrison; but just as this measure was about to be attempted, information was received that the garrison had surrendered to the Connecticut forces. Capt. Ledlie then concluded to place guards upon the Shohola

and Minisink roads to prevent the arrival of more troops from New England, and to occupy those stations until further orders.* The President of Council, in his message to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania on the 18th. of September 1771, gave a detailed account of these transactions, at the conclusion of which, he says :

" At length our people reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, were obliged to surrender upon terms of capitulation. Since which it is reported that the intruders have burnt the block-house and are fortifying themselves at a more convenient place in the neighborhood, and that they have intentions of seizing on Fort Augusta‡ and the Provincial cannon, and other warlike stores there."

The Council were of opinion that it was proper to open a correspondence with the Government of Connecticut on the subject of the late events at Wyoming. Accordingly the President, James Hamilton, Esq. in a letter to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut dated Philadelphia, Oct. 4, 1771, after giving an account of these transactions, says:

" As the people concerned in these violent and hostile measures profess to act under the authority of your Government, and have made a capitulation expressly on behalf of the Government I have thought it proper and expedient to send

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*See Ledlie's despatches of Aug. 15, 1771, on file in Secretary's office.

‡At Sunbury.

a messenger to your honor on purpose to know with certainty whether they have proceeded in any sort under your countenance or authority or that of your Assembly, and as this must be a matter within your knowledge I make no doubt but you will despatch the express with a speedy answer."

Governor Trumbull in his answer dated at New Haven, Oct. 14, 1771, among other things, says:

"The persons concerned in those transactions have no order and direction from me, or from the General Assembly of the Colony, for their proceeding upon this occasion, and I am very confident that the General Assembly, friends as they ever have been to peace and good order, will never countenance any violent, much less hostile measures, in vindicating the right which the Susquehanna Company suppose they have to the lands in that part of the country within the limits of the Charter of this Colony."

He then proceeds to inform President Hamilton that he understands each of the contending parties at Wyoming charge the other with having been the first gressors, and that it is not his province to determine between them. Governor Trumbull communicated this correspondence to the General Assembly which met the same month.

The Government of Pennsylvania, finding that the Connecticut forces had strongly fortified themselves at Wyoming, and that their numbers rapidly increased, gave orders for withdrawing their troops, and left the Connecticut party in quiet possession of the Valley.

The long contested plains of Wyoming appeared again to enjoy a season of peace, and the inhabitants began to feel the necessity of some system of civil Government, that which had hitherto existed being of a military nature. Accordingly a memorial was presented to the General Assembly of Connecticut by agents sent for that purpose, representing that the differences which then subsisted between the American Colonies and the Government of Great Britain, would undoubtedly prevent his majesty from granting a Charter of Government to the Susquehanna Company agreeably to the recommendation and resolution of the General Assembly in 1755; and as the settlements then subsisting on the Susquehanna under the Company's authority, were not sufficiently strong to defend themselves against powerful enemies, they prayed that they might be taken under the protection of the Government of Connecticut, and participate in a certain degree in her political institutions until his majesty's further pleasure might be known. The agents having returned to Wyoming reported that the Government of Connecticut had taken into consideration the situation of the Wyoming Colony, and had advised, first: to attempt a settlement with the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania of all subjects in dispute; which negociation the Government of Connecticut would undertake on behalf of the Colony of Wyoming; and should this negociation fail of success, they would apply to his majesty for a legal settlement of the controversy with Pennsylvania, whenever present disturbances be-

tween the Colonies and the mother country should be settled, and in the mean time the inhabitants of the Colony of Wyoming should protect and govern themselves in the manner they might think most advisable. In pursuance of these views the inhabitants of Wyoming, commonly called the "Settlers," proceeded to establish a Government for themselves. They laid out Townships, formed settlements, erected fortifications, levied and collected taxes, passed laws for the direction of civil suits, and for the punishment of crimes and misdemeanors, established a militia, and provided for the common defence and general welfare of the Colony. Neither the Grecian nor the Roman States in their proudest days of republicanism could boast of a Government more purely Democratic than was now established at Wyoming. The supreme power vested (where nature has placed it in all Governments,) in the whole body of the people, and it was exercised, not by representation, but by a majority of votes in a full meeting of all the citizens who chose to attend for that purpose.—This meeting was called "The Meeting of the Proprietors," and it formed the grand Council of the Colony to which an appeal was in all cases reserved. "The Meeting of the Proprietors" chose a President for each sitting, called a "Moderator," and their proceedings were recorded in a book, by a clerk chosen also for one meeting only. This record formed the "Statute Book," and was kept by the clerk of the last meeting. The meeting of the Proprietaries held no stated or periodical sess-

ion, but assembled only whenever business made it necessary. The Executive power was vested in a Committee, consisting of one person from each Township in which settlements were commenced. They were called the "Committee of Settlers," and were authorized to decide upon all matters of minor importance both civil and criminal, and to call "The Meeting of the Proprietors" whenever they thought proper.

The Judicial power was placed in three Courts, all having civil and criminal jurisdiction. The highest or Supreme Court, was "The Meeting of the Proprietors," to whom an appeal lay in all cases, and where the merits of each case were subject to revision, and all judgments, to correction. The second, or Executive Court, was the "Committee of Settlers," who corrected and entered judgments, and issued writs of execution. The common, or Ordinary Court, consisted of Three Freeholders, who were, in the first instance, to decide all controversies arising between any two or more individuals in their respective townships, and make a return of their award to the "Committee of Settlers," who issued execution to the proper Constable. A Constable for each Township was chosen at "The Meeting of the Proprietors."* Such was the system of Government established at Wyoming; imperfect like every other system in its origin. After a trial of two years it was found necessary to make certain alterations, and to in-

*Westmoreland Records.

troduce some new provisions which should render "The Meetings of the Proprietors" less frequent on appeals. Accordingly at a full meeting of the Proprietors and Settlers, held at Wilkesbarre on the 8th. day of July 1773, various alterations were adopted in their system, and the whole drawn into a regular form, "For the well ordering and gov-"erning the Proprietors and Settlers on the Sus-"quehanna Purchase."

The most important alteration, was the appointment of a "Board of Directors," in the place of the "Committee of Settlers," and a Sheriff and other officers provided for. All the Proprietors and Settlers were required to subscribe their names to these articles of agreement which were to form their *Original Compact* and to be received as their Constitution of Government. Those who refused to do so were deprived of their lands, and compelled to remove from the country.* Several of the laws passed at this time bear the appearance of great severity, but may have been justified by the circumstances of the times. One in particular passed at Wilkesbarre on the 28th day of December, 1772, which provided "That no person or per-"sons, settlers or foreigners, coming into this "place, shall at any time hereafter sell or give to "any Indian or Indians any spirituous liquors, "on the forfeiture of all such liquors and the "whole of their goods and chattels, rights and ef-

*Westmoreland Records. Some instances of this occurred.

"fects that they shall have on this purchase, and "also be voted out of this Company unless upon "some extraordinary occasion, such as sickness, "&c. without leave first had and obtained from "the Committee."

The whole body of citizens capable of bearing arms, was formed into a militia, of which a list of those in each township constituted a section, who did garrison duty in the forts, and took their tour upon guard in regular succession.

The *Proprietors* were the owners of the whole purchase which extended one hundred and ten miles west of the Susquehanna River, and was about one hundred miles in width North and South. This territory, or a great portion of it, was laid off into townships, generally five miles square, and except in the vicinity of the Susquehanna river, these townships formed regular ranges, extending East and West through the whole purchase; they were surveyed into lots of different sizes, of which a certain quantity was called a *right* or *share*, and a less quantity, an *half-share*. They were sold under various terms and conditions, and the proceeds of the sales went into the treasury of the Company. A town was laid out immediately adjoining the Wyoming Fort, by Col. Durkee, who gave it the united names of *Wilkes* and *Barre*, two distinguished members of the British Parliament, conspicuous for their devotion to the rights of the American Colonies.

While these peaceful measures were progressing the General Assembly of Connecticut passed res-

olutions declaring their intention to support their claim to the lands within the limits of their Charter West of the Province of New York, and appointing Commissioners to negociate a settlement of all disputes with the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and an *Act* giving full powers to the Commissioners to make a final settlement of all boundaries and claims in dispute.

The Commissioners, having received their full powers, proceeded to Philadelphia in December 1773, and having produced their credentials, presented to Gov. Penn a letter from Gov. Trumbull of Connecticut, dated at Lebanon the 22d. of November 1773, in which, among other things, he says:

"The case hath been stated and council of the first eminence in Great Britain consulted on the right and title of the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut to the lands within the limits and bounds of their Patent lying westward of the Province of New York. Notwithstanding the several settlements of the boundaries between the Colony on the East and the Province on the West, made, as well by agreement between the parties, as under the royal authority, and notwithstanding the subsequent Charter to Sir William Penn, their opinion is in favor of the Governor and Company of such lands. The General Assembly of this Colony, holden at New Haven in October last, resolved to make their claim to those lands, and in a legal manner support the same. Thereupon Col. Dyer, Doct. Johnson and Mr. Strong are duly appointed and commissioned to

treat with your honor and the agent or agents of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania on that subject; and further to consult and agree with you upon such measures as shall tend to preserve peace and good order among the inhabitants on such lands, and prevent mutual violence and contention during the time the boundaries between this Colony and your Province remain undetermined."

"We do not doubt the compliance of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania to a legal and constitutional decision of the case in question, nor your willingness to agree on proper measures to preserve peace and good order in the mean time."

The Commissioners at the same time communicated the proceedings of the General Assembly of Connecticut relative to the controversy. The Council of Pennsylvania having taken these matters into consideration, on the 15th. of December, made a request in writing that the Connecticut Commissioners should state the limits of the Connecticut claim in a written declaration. This was complied with on the same day, in which declaration the Commissioners state that they were directed "To negociate rather a mode of obtaining an amicable settlement of the controversy between the Colony and the Proprietaries, than an actual and precise settlement of the boundaries between them. We therefore apprehend that the claim on the part of the Colony of Connecticut is to the purpose of the negociation with which we are charged, sufficiently designated in the Act of Assembly now before you; but as we bring with us the most sin-

cere dispositions to effect if possible an amicable settlement of this controversy, that we may give every facility in our power towards the accomplishment of so desirable an object, we will further mention to you that the title to the lands in question on the part of the Colony of Connecticut is principally founded upon the royal Charter to the Governor and Company of that Colony from his late majesty King Charles the second, dated at Westminster, Anno. 1662, the boundaries of which are thus expressed, viz: [Here follows the description of the boundaries mentioned in the Charter as given in the second chapter.] Which limits and boundaries do include a considerable part of the lands afterwards granted by the crown to Sir William Penn in 1681, and which constitute a part of the Province of Pennsylvania, as now claimed by the Proprietaries; but what part in certain of those lands are so contained within the limits of the prior Patent to Connecticut can now be known only by actually running and ascertaining the lines of that Patent, which we conceive will be best done by Commissioners mutually appointed by the Colony and the honorable Proprietaries, and we on the part of the Colony are now ready to agree to such Commissioners who shall be authorised to execute the same in the most effectual manner as soon as possible."

Gov. Penn, in his answer to the letter of the Commissioners, dated Philadelphia, Dec. 17, 1773, after mentioning the uncertainty of the limits of the Connecticut Charter as well as many other

of the New England grants, and referring to the settlement of the line from the mouth of Mamavonak river to be the western bounds of Connecticut, says: "Being clearly of opinion for these and many other reasons that the present claim made by your Government of any lands westward of the Province of New York is without the least foundation, you cannot reasonably expect that I should accept of the proposal of 'settling and ascertaining the boundaries between the Colony of Connecticut and the Province,' or enter with you into a negociation on that subject, nor can I with any propriety agree to the alternative proposed in the Act of Assembly of your Colony which you have laid before me, namely: 'That if we cannot agree amicably to ascertain these boundaries, then to join in an application to his majesty to appoint commissioners for that purpose.'"

Several communications afterwards passed between the Commissioners and Gov. Penn, calculated on their part to pursuade to a negociation and on the part of the Governor to prevent it. To give the whole of this correspondence would swell this chapter beyond its intended size, and would form perhaps, to many persons, an uninteresting detail; but as this was an early and sincere attempt on the part of the Colony and actual settlers, to adjust and settle all disputes amicably, an extract from it is given that the reader may see the manner and spirit with which the correspondence was conducted. The Commissioners, in a long letter to the Governor, dated Dec. 18, 1773, in which the

subject of the controversy is extensively embraced, say: "

"There is a clear distinction between a *claim* and a *right*, and however ill founded the claim of the Colony may by you be imagined to be, yet that it is an existing claim cannot be denied—and how the admission of such claim, so far as to negociate upon it, to attempt to settle it, or to join in an application to his majesty for an adjudication upon it, can in any respect prejudice the *right*, we cannot comprehend.

"We apprehend that your honor is much mistaken in imagining that the settlement of the line between the Colony of Connecticut and the grant to the duke of York in 1664, was in any degree occasioned by the uncertainty of the bounds and extent of the Charter to Connecticut and the other New England grants. That determination had another and a very different foundation, viz: the possession on the part of the Dutch of that territory which was afterwards granted to the duke of York; a possession which occasioned its being excepted out of the original grant to the Council of Plymouth, and in fact prevented its being ever vested in the crown until the conquest thereof by Col. Nichols in August 1664. As that territory therefore was not in 1662 in the crown to grant, no part of it could pass by the Patent to Connecticut, and it became absolutely necessary after the conquest and the grant to the duke of York, to ascertain what extent of territory had been so possessed by the Dutch and excepted out of the ancient grant

of the crown. The settlement by that Court was therefore "only to determine what part of the country the duke of York was entitled to in virtue of the Dutch possessions." In the same letter the Commissioners go on to propose that a temporary line of jurisdiction shall be agreed upon, which shall leave the settlers at Wyoming under the Government of Connecticut, during the continuance of the war then subsisting with Great Britain; and the settlers on the West branch of the Susquehanna river, who were then under the Government of Pennsylvania, they proposed should remain so, until the termination of the war, when further measures might be adopted to effect a settlement of the controversy.

Gov. Penn, in his answer to this letter of the Commissioners dated Dec. 23, among other things, says: "As I cannot for reasons assigned accede to your proposal of a temporary line of jurisdiction, so neither can I foresee any means that appear to me likely to effectuate peace and order, and to prevent for the future such violent outrages as have been lately perpetrated in that part of the country where the people of Connecticut are now settled, but their entirely evacuating the lands in their possession until a legal decision of our controversy can be obtained."

He then in the same letter proposes that the Colony of Connecticut shall apply to the King, and assures them that the Proprietaries will meet the subject in presence of his majesty, but that if they do not think proper to do so, the Proprietaries of

Pennsylvania will apply to him for a decision on their claims. In their answer to this part of Gov. Penn's letter, the Commissioners advert to their proposal of applying jointly to the King; but object to apply separately because that on so important a subject they do not think that his majesty would come to a decision without first directing a board of Commissioners to examine the facts in America which would produce much delay and expense, and probably be postponed until after the war, &c. The Governor, in his letter, had alluded to some former sales of the Susquehanna lands to the Proprietaries by certain Indians, and in answer to this the Commissioners say, "It were easy to observe that the purchases from the Indians by the Proprietaries, and the sales by them made, were they even more ancient than they are, could add no strength to the Proprietary title, since the right of pre-emption of the natives was by the royal grant exclusively vested in the Colony of Connecticut, and consequently those purchases and sales were equally without any legal foundation. They could neither acquire any right by the one, nor transfer any title by the other, but that both the one and the other have been too recent to be the ground of any argument, since we are advised that the Proprietaries made no purchase of the natives of any consequence to this dispute prior to the treaty of Fort Stanwix," (A. D. 1768.) The Governor had also suggested an objection to the Connecticut claim, upon the ground of an impracticability in the Colony to exercise jurisdiction

over a country extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. To this objection the Commissioners reply that it is a question of *policy*, not a question of *right*, and should not be agitated at this time; but that the Connecticut grant even under that view appears no more objectionable than the grant of so large a territory as Pennsylvania to one person. They conclude by saying that both here and in Europe they had offered, and they now repeat the offer, to submit all matters in dispute to a competent tribunal and to be concluded by the decision. These offers however, proved unavailing and the Commissioners returned to Connecticut without having effected the object of their mission. The particulars of this Conference were laid before the General Assembly of Pennsylvania on the 29th. of Dec. 1773, and on the 18th. of January following, the Assembly passed an address to the Governor, in which, among other things, they say:—

"To prevent the mischievous effects of this unkind and unneighborly disposition in the Government of Connecticut, we beg leave earnestly to request that you will pursue every effectual measure to call the claimants before his majesty in Council and to bring their claim to an immediate decision."

Measures were accordingly taken for that purpose, but his majesty had now claims of a different and more important nature to decide with his American subjects, all of which were eventually settled by his acknowledgement of their independence.

After the Connecticut Commissioners had made report of the failure of the negociation with the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, the Susquehanna

Company represented to the General Assembly of Connecticut that as all hope of being erected into a separate Colony at Wyoming by special Charter from the King was now lost, in consequence of the existing war with Great Britain, and, as the settlement at Wyoming was not sufficiently powerful to protect itself in a state of war against the Province of Pennsylvania on the one hand, and the combined British and savage enemies on the other, they requested that those settlements might be taken under the protection of the Colony of Connecticut—be considered as a part of that Colony—and be subject generally to its laws and jurisdiction.

The General Court having taken these representations into consideration, passed an Act in January, 1774, by which the country extending from the river Delaware westward fifteen miles beyond Wyoming, and in extent North and South the whole width of the Charter bounds, was erected into a separate Town to be called "*Westmoreland*," and annexed to the county of Litchfield. By this Act all persons were forbid from settling upon any lands within the limits of the Connecticut Colony westward of the Province of New York, except under the authority of that Colony; and Zebulon Butler, Esq. and Nathan Denison, Esq. were appointed Justices of the Peace, and directed to call a town meeting for the election of other officers. In pursuance of the provisions of this act, a general meeting of the inhabitants of Wyoming was held, and their civil officers were elected; and from this time Wyo-

ming ceased to exist as a separate Republic, the laws of Connecticut being exercised over the country in full force. A special court was established for the trial of certain causes which it would be inconvenient to try at Litchfield, and the inhabitants of Wyoming were represented in the Connecticut Legislature by one member elected to the general court. The Act authorising these proceedings was communicated by the Governor of Connecticut to Governor Penn and by him laid before the council on the 24th. of February, 1774, and on the 28th. of the same month, Governor Penn issued his Proclamation forbidding all persons from attending the town meeting or election then notified by Zebulon Butler, and all other unlawful meetings, and also forbidding all persons from entering or settling any lands at Wyoming without consent of the Proprietors. But this Proclamation appears to have been regarded with as little attention by the inhabitants of Wyoming as would have been a royal edict issued by the King of Spain.—Thus the war between the two parties appears to have been conducted during the year 1774, principally by means of civil acts and Proclamations—a system which has since been enlarged and improved by some of the modern nations of Europe.

As those hostile measures which preceded the vigorous prosecution of the war between Great Britain and the American Colonies became more generally known, the influence of the Provincial Governors became less powerful, and as Governor Penn's Proclamations were not followed by any

warlike movements, the settlements at Wyoming enjoyed for a time under their Government a comparative state of repose. Many new townships were laid out, and the settlements considerably extended; but while these measures were peacefully progressing, a settlement, which had been commenced by the Susquehanna Company on the West Branch of the Susquehanna river, was attacked on the 28th. of September, 1775, by a body of militia from the county of Northumberland, who, after killing one man and wounding several others, made prisoners of the remainder, and conveyed them to Sunbury. Several boats from Wyoming which carried on a trade down the river, were about this time plundered near Fort Augusta, and thus the flames of war were again re-kindled by the contending parties. Wyoming however, was not at this time the only scene of contention. The differences which had arisen between the Government of Great Britain and the American Colonies, were in no degree removed—a powerful British force was stationed in Boston, the battle of Bunker's Hill had been fought, the town of Charleston reduced to ashes, and the whole continent threatened with hostile convulsions. A congress of Deputies from twelve of the Colonies and Provinces, had assembled the preceding year at New York to consult upon proper measures for their mutual defence, and another General Congress of Representatives from all the Colonies and Provinces, was to assemble about this time at Philadelphia for the same purpose. To this congress the Wyoming settlers

resolved to apply for protection, and a memorial and petition was accordingly presented, setting forth their complaints, and requesting that measures might be adopted to preserve peace and tranquility in their settlements. On the 4th of November the congress took this memorial into consideration, and on motion, came to the following resolution:

"The congress, considering that the most perfect union between all the Colonies is essentially necessary for the preservation of the just rights of North America, and being apprehensive that there is great danger of hostilities being commenced at or near Wyoming between the inhabitants of the Colony of Pennsylvania and those of Connecticut:

"Resolved, That the Assemblies of the said Colonies be requested to take the most speedy and effectual steps to prevent such hostilities.

"Ordered, That Mr. M'Kean and Mr. Dean, wait upon the honorable house of Assembly of Pennsylvania now sitting with a copy of the above resolution.

"Ordered, That a copy of the said resolution be transmitted by express to the magistrates and people of Pennsylvania and Connecticut on the waters of the Susquehanna."*

This resolution, however, produced very little effect upon the Government of Pennsylvania, and although notified by express to the state authorities at Sunbury, still the settlers who had been taken

*See Journals of congress, vol. I. p. 215.

prisoners upon the West Branch were not set at liberty, but more closely confined than before, and many of the inhabitants of that town became much alarmed lest a detachment from Wyoming should at an unguarded moment set fire to the town and break open the prison. A representation of these fears was made to the Governor by William Plunket and others, who had shared the plunder upon the West Branch, setting forth that the settlements at Wyoming were daily increasing in strength; that a competent force could probably be raised at that time to subdue them, but that in another year they would probably be too strong, that the prison was full and continually in danger, and that should his honor be disposed to direct it, they were willing to undertake an expedition against Wyoming.* Orders were immediately issued by the Governor to Plunket, directing the "Posse" of the county to be raised, and conducted by the Sheriff to Wyoming to expel the Connecticut settlers from the country, but as the *form* of the proceedings was to be of a *civil* and not of a *military* character, the orders were to "restore peace and good order in the county." In pursuance of these orders, a force of about seven hundred men was raised for the expedition; and a sufficient quantity of arms, provisions and military stores having been procured, and placed on board of a large boat, the little army commenced its march from Fort

*See Plunket's letter on file in the Secretary's office, Harrisburg.

Augusta near Sunbury, about the beginning of December. Plunket, who, to his authority as civil magistrate, added that of colonel of militia, had command of the expedition, but to preserve appearances it was thought proper that William Cook, Sheriff, should accompany the troops to Wyoming.

Information of Plunket's march having been received in Philadelphia, where the American congress was then sitting, produced considerable sensation, as it was expected the resolution of congress would have prevented further proceedings against the Wyoming settlements. This effect not having been produced, the congress, on the 20th of December, passed the following preamble and resolution:

"The congress taking into consideration the dispute between the people of Pennsylvania and Connecticut on the waters of the Susquehanna, came to the following resolution:

"Whereas a dispute subsists between some of the inhabitants of the Colony of Connecticut, settled under the claim of the said Colony on land near Wyoming on the Susquehanna river and in the Delaware country and the inhabitants settled under the claim of the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, which dispute it is apprehended will, if not suspended during the present troubles in the Colonies, be productive of pernicious consequences, which may be very prejudicial to the common interest of the United Colonies, therefore,

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this congress, and it is accordingly recommended, that the con-

tending parties immediately cease all hostilities, and avoid every appearance of force until the dispute can be legally decided; That all property taken and detained be immediately restored to the original owners; That no interruption be given to either party to the free passing and re-passing of persons behaving themselves peaceably through the disputed territory, as well by land as by water without molestation of either persons or property; That all persons seized and detained on account of said dispute on either side, be dismissed and permitted to go to their respective homes, and that things being put in the same situation they were before the late unhappy contest, they continue to behave themselves peaceably on their respective possessions and improvements until a legal decision can be had on said dispute, or this congress shall take further order thereon, and nothing herein done shall be construed in prejudice of the claim of either party."*

Notice of this resolution was immediately given to the respective parties, but it produced very little effect; no counter orders were sent to Colonel Plunket, who continued his march very slowly up the Susquehanna. The provisions for the troops could be conveyed only by the boat, and as the march of the troops along the shore was necessarily regulated by its progress, and its ascent against the current very much impeded by floating ice, the expedition did not arrive at the foot of Nanticoke

*See Journal of congress, vol. I. p. 279.

falls until the 24th. of December. At this place, Plunket found the river so full of ice as to render the ascent of the falls impracticable; and it was accordingly concluded to leave the boat at that place, to supply the men with provisions for a few days in their knapsacks, and to proceed with all possible expedition to the attack upon Wyoming Fort. Accordingly a small guard was left for the defence of the boat, and the troops commenced their march along the road leading through the gap of the mountain into Wyoming Valley. On the West side of the river, at the point of the Shawanese mountain a short distance above Nanticoke falls, is a projecting rock, which lies in the form of an inclined plane descending towards the Valley, and extending its point towards the river. This rock presents down the river an abrupt precipitous front; and has the road winding around the point of it. As Plunket advanced through the defile, this brow of the rock suddenly presented to his view a long rampart constructed by the Wyoming settlers, who had received notice of his approach, and who, rising from behind it, discharged a volley of musketry at his troops, which, on account of the distance, took little effect. Plunket's troops were thrown into great confusion, and immediately retreated behind the point of the mountain, where he again collected them to consult on what further measures should be pursued. With their boat they had brought a batteau for the greater convenience of crossing the river in difficult places, and it was now resolved to bring the batteau

above the falls, and by means of it convey the troops in small parties across the river, under the protection of those on shore, and when the whole force should have thus crossed, to enter the Valley on the East side of the river. The Wyoming settlers, aware that this course might be attempted, had provided against it by placing a small detachment in the defile upon that side under the command of Lieut. Stewart who lay with his men concealed in the thick woods on the bank of the river, and as Plunket and a few men were attempting to land from the batteau fired upon them, killed one man and it was supposed wounded some others, when they immediately pushed the boat from the shore, and without attempting again to land floated down through the falls, Plunket himself lying down in the batteau to escape the shots that were fired at him. The troops which remained upon the western shore, observing that the fire upon the batteau proceeded from the bushes on the opposite bank, discharged a volley into them and killed one of the settlers of the name of Bowen. Plunket's troops then returned to their boat where they again held a consultation relative to future operations. To force the breastwork on the rock was deemed impracticable—the amount of the force on the opposite shore was unknown. To ascend the steep and rocky mountains against a force which could attain the summit before them, and thence precipitate rocks upon them, was considered equally impracticable. To reduce Wyoming at one blow was no longer to be expected—and as in a few days the

river might close. and fasten their boats in the ice, in which case their situation would be extremely unpleasant, they concluded to abandon the enterprise, and accordingly commenced their return down the river. Thus terminated the last military enterprize ever undertaken by the *Provincial Government* of Pennsylvania.

The following year (1776) commenced a new era in the history of the American Colonies, and in some measure gave peace to Wyoming in the midst of war, by removing from Pennsylvania the authority of the Proprietaries, and royal Governors. During this interval of comparative repose, three companies of troops were enlisted at Wyoming for the service of the United Colonies. They were attached to the Connecticut line and made part of the troops of that Colony. At this time a full enumeration of the population at Wyoming was made, and the settlements were found to contain five thousand souls. Their militia at the same time amounted to one thousand one hundred men, capable of bearing arms ;* and of this force about three hundred enlisted to serve against the common enemy. After their march, the settlers continued to guard themselves with increased vigilance. Regular garrison duty was performed in the several fortifications by classes of the militia in successive order ; in addition to which, a patroll called the " Scout," was established through the

*See memorial to the Legislature of Connecticut, Oct. 20, 1784.

Valley, which was on duty night and day in succession, exploring all thickets and unfrequented grounds, in search of any lurking enemy which might have come to disturb their peace, or spy out the land.

The frontier settlements of the different Colonies were at this time continually harrassed by incursive parties of British troops and Indians, from Canada; and the surrender of General Burgoyne which took place in October (1777) did not produce an abandonment of the system. Early in the spring of 1778 a force consisting of about eight hundred men, and composed of British regulars, tories and Indians, under the command of Colonel John Butler, assembled at Niagara and marched to the reduction of Wyoming. The Indians were in number about four hundred, and were commanded by Brandt,* a warlike chief, of mixed blood. At Tioga Point these troops procured boats and rafts of wood upon which they floated down the Susquehanna until they arrived about twenty miles above Wyoming Fort. Here they landed the latter part of June. On the evening of the 2d. of July they took possession of a Fort which the settlers had built on the bank of the river about a mile below the head of the valley, called Fort Wintermoot. From this Fort, which the British commander made his head quarters, were sent small scouting parties in search of plunder and provisions, as well as to

*Brandt is said to have been a son of Sir William Johnson by an Indian woman.

ascertain the situation and strength of the force which remained for the defence of the settlement.

Upon the arrival of these troops the settlers collected their principal forces in a fortification situated on the west bank of the river, at a large eddy in the stream below Monockonock Island and about three miles above Wyoming Fort. This fort had been built and defended by forty of the settlers in that vicinity, and had thence obtained the name of "Forty Fort." The Garrison now assembled here, consisted of the most active of the settlers, and amounted to three hundred and sixty eight men, a small party being left in the other forts for the protection of the settlement in their immediate vicinity. About a month previous messengers had been sent from the settlers to the Continental army, to inform the commander in chief of their situation, and to request that a detachment might be sent to their assistance.

On the morning of the 3d. of July, the officers of the garrison at Forty Fort held a council to determine on the propriety of marching from the fort, and attacking the enemy whereever found. The debates in this council of war are said to have been conducted with much warmth and animation. The ultimate determination was one on which depended the lives of the garrison and the safety of the settlements. On one side it was contended that their enemies were daily increasing in numbers—that they would plunder the settlements of all kinds of property, and would accumulate the means of carrying on the war while they themselves

would become weaker; that the harvest would soon be ripe, and would be gathered or destroyed by their enemies, and all their means of sustenance during the succeeding winter would fail; That probably all their messengers were killed, and as there had been more than sufficient time, and no assistance arrived, they would probably receive none, and consequently now was the proper time to make the attack. On the other side it was argued that probably some or all the messengers may have arrived at head quarters, but that the absence of the Commander-in-chief may have produced delay; that one or two weeks more may bring the desired assistance, and that to attack the enemy, superior as they were in number, out of the limits of their own fort, would produce almost certain destruction to the settlement and themselves, and captivity and slavery—perhaps torture, to their wives and children. While these debates were progressing, five men belonging to Wyoming, but who, at that time, held commissions in the continental army, arrived at the Fort. They had received information that a force from Niagara had marched to destroy the settlements on the Susquehanna, and being unable to bring with them any re-enforcements, they resigned their appointments and hastened immediately to the protection of their families. They had heard nothing of the messengers, neither could they give any certain information as to the probability of relief.

The prospects of receiving assistance became now extremely uncertain. The advocates for the

attack prevailed in the council, and at dawn of day on the morning of the third of July, the garrison left the Fort, and began their march up the river under the command of Colonel Zebulon Butler. Having proceeded about two miles, the troops halted for the purpose of detaching a reconnoitering party to ascertain the situation of the enemy. Col. Butler rode along the flank of the column to invite volunteers for this service. Abraham Pike and an Irish companion, offered their services, and they being the only volunteers, were accepted. The scout found the enemy in possession of Fort Wintermoot and occupying huts immediately around it, carousing in supposed security; but on their return to the advancing column, they met two strolling Indians by whom they were fired upon, and upon whom they immediately returned the fire, without effect. The settlers hastened their march for the attack, but the Indians had given the alarm, and the advancing troops found the enemy already formed in order of battle a small distance from their fort, with their right flank covered by a swamp, and their left, resting upon the bank of the river. The settlers immediately displayed their column, and formed in corresponding order; but as the enemy was much superior in numbers their line was much more extensive. Pine woods and bushes covered the battle ground in consequence of which, the movements of the troops could not be so quickly discovered, nor so well ascertained. Col. Zebulon Butler had command of the right, and was opposed by Col. John But-

ler at the head of the British troops on the left. Col. Nathan Denison commanded the left, opposed by Brandt at the head of his Indians on the enemy's right. The battle commenced at about forty rods distant, and continued about fifteen minutes through the woods and brush without much execution. At this time Brandt with his Indians, having penetrated the swamp, turned the left flank of the settler's line, and with a terrible war-whoop and savage yell, made a desperate charge upon the troops composing that wing, which fell very fast, and were immediately cut to pieces with the tomahawk. Col. Denison having ascertained that the savages were gaining the rear of the left, gave orders for that wing to *fall back*, in order to prevent being surrounded by the enemy. At the same time Col. John Butler finding that the line of the settlers did not extend as far towards the river as his own, doubled that end of his line, which was protected by a thick growth of brushwood, and having brought a party of his British regulars to act in column upon that wing, threw Col. Zebulon Butler's troops into some confusion.

The orders of Col. Denison for his troops to *fall back*, having been understood by many to mean a *retreat*, the troops began to retire in much disorder. The savages considered this as a flight, and commencing a most hideous yell, rushed forward with their rifles and tomahawks, and cut the retiring line to pieces. In this situation it was found impossible to rally and form the troops, and the rout became general throughout the line. The settlers

fled in every direction and were instantly followed by the savages, who killed or took prisoners whoever came within their reach. Some succeeded in reaching the river and escaped by swimming across; others fled to the mountains; and the savages, too much occupied with plunder, gave up the pursuit. When the first intelligence was received in the village of Wilkesbarre that the battle was lost, the women fled with their children to the mountains, on their way to the settlements on the Delaware, where many of them at length arrived after suffering extreme hardships. Many of the men who escaped the battle, together with their women and children who were unable to travel on foot, took refuge in Wyoming Fort, and on the following day (July 4th.) Butler and Brandt at the head of their combined forces appeared before the fort and demanded its surrender. The garrison being without any efficient means of defence, surrendered the fort on articles of capitulation, by which the settlers, upon giving up their fortifications, prisoners, and military stores, were to remain in the country unmolested, provided they did not again take up arms.*

In this battle about three hundred of the settlers were killed or missing, and from a great part of whom no intelligence was ever afterwards received. The officers killed‡ were one Lieutenant Colonel,

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*See Articles of Capitulation, Note No. II. at the end of the volume.

‡See Note No. III. at the end of the volume.

one Major, ten Captains, six Lieutenants, and two ensigns.

A considerable number of the inhabitants of the different settlements on the Susquehanna, who, from their attachment to the British cause, were denominated *tories*, joined the British and savage troops previous to the battle, and exhibited instances of the most savage barbarity in the manner in which they carried on the war against their former neighbors and friends. One instance may serve to shew the desperate feelings which those times produced. A short distance below the battle ground there is a large island in the river called "Monockonock Island." Several of the settlers, while the battle and pursuit continued, succeeded in swimming to this island, where they concealed themselves among the logs and brushwood upon it. Their arms had been thrown away in their flight, previous to their entering the river, so that they were in a manner defenceless. Two of them in particular were concealed near and in sight of each other. While in this situation they observed several of the enemy who had pursued and fired at them while they were swimming the river, preparing to follow them to the island with their guns. On reaching the island they immediately wiped their guns and loaded them. One of them with his loaded gun soon passed close by one of these men who lay concealed from his view, and was immediately recognized by him to be the brother of his companion who was concealed near him, but who, being a tory, had joined the enemy. He passed

slowly along, carefully examining every covert, and directly perceived his brother in his place of concealment. He suddenly stopped and said, "so it is you, is it?" His brother finding that he was discovered, immediately came forward a few steps, and falling on his knees, begged him to spare his life, promising to live with him and serve him, and even to be his slave as long as he lived, if he would only spare his life. "*All this is mighty good,*" replied the savage hearted brother of the supplicating man, "*but you are a d***d rebel;*" and deliberately presenting his rifle, shot him dead upon the spot. The other settler made his escape from the island, and having related this fact, the tory brother thought it prudent to accompany the British troops on their return to Canada.

The conditions of the capitulation were entirely disregarded by the British and savage forces, and after the fort was delivered up, all kinds of barbarities were committed by them. The village of Wilkesbarre, consisting of twenty-three houses, was burnt; men and their wives were separated from each other and carried into captivity; their property was plundered and the settlement laid waste. The remainder of the inhabitants were driven from the Valley, and compelled to proceed on foot sixty miles through the great swamp almost without food or clothing. A number perished in the journey, principally women and children—some died of their wounds, others wandered from the path in search of food and were lost, and those who survived, called the wilderness through which

they passed "*The Shades of Death;*" an appellation which it has since retained. On their way through the swamp, the unhappy fugitives met a detachment of regular troops from the continental army under the command of Capt. Spalding, which, in consequence of the representations made by the messengers, had been sent to the relief of the inhabitants at Wyoming; but as all was now lost, they returned to the Delaware, and the remnant of the inhabitants proceeded to their former homes in Connecticut.

[Capt. Spalding and his company remained at Stroudsburg about four weeks, and learning that but few Indians continued at Wyoming, came immediately to Wilkesbarre and took possession of the desolated country, under the command of Col. Z. Butler, by whom they had been joined, together with some others of the settlers, about the time of their departure. Soon after their arrival, they built a fort on the bank of the river a short distance below the centre of the present borough of Wilkesbarre. This they occupied as a home about eleven months, when Gen. Sullivan and his army arrived. During this period small parties of Indians occasionally made their appearance, killing or taking prisoners, all who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. The Americans in return despatched an Indian whenever an opportunity presented itself. Sometime in March, 1779, the fort was surrounded by about 250 Indians and painted tories. They commenced an attack upon the fort, but upon a cannon being fired by the garrison, the

Indians with their abettors retreated, burning and destroying everything of consequence before them. On account of the superior numbers of the enemy, the Americans did not pursue them.]

The battle and massacre at Wyoming having produced much public sensation, the commander-in-chief of the American armies, sent a detachment of two thousand five hundred men under the command of Gen. Sullivan, to drive the British and Indians from that place and to lay waste the Indian country along the north-western frontier, These troops were to receive their military stores at Easton and to open a road through the swamp by which their baggage was to be transported to the Susquehanna. Some unexpected delay occurred in the departure of the expedition from the Delaware, and the inhabitants, many of whom had returned to Wyoming in anticipation of the protection to be afforded by Gen. Sullivan's army, were under apprehensions of an attack from lurking hordes of Indians who continued among the mountains notwithstanding the departure of the Canadian troops. To afford the requisite protection in case of such an attack, a company of troops under the command of Major Powell, was directed to march by the small path through the swamp, and form a garrison in Wyoming fort until the arrival of the main army. These troops not apprehensive of any danger proceeded in an irregular manner along the small path which admitted the passage of single files only, and were fired upon on the 20th of April by a body of Indians in ambush, while crossing the

head of Laurel Run, near the summit of the first mountain. In this attack, Capt. Davis, Lieut. Jones, and four men, were killed, and the remainder of the troops having retreated a short distance, and formed for battle, succeeded in dispersing the Indians who fled after a few scattering discharges, when the troops entered the Valley. The remains of Capt. Davis and Lieut. Jones were removed to the burial ground in Wilkesbarre, where the Brotherhood erected a rough stone monument with a suitable inscription over their graves.

On the 22d of June, (1779,) General Sullivan arrived with the main body of the troops.

On the 22d day of July, a company of Pennsylvania militia, who had marched to Lackawaxen for the protection of the settlements in that vicinity, were attacked by a body of one hundred and forty Indians, and between forty and fifty of the militia were either killed or made prisoners.

Gen. Sullivan, having ascertained that the Canadian troops and their Indian allies had removed up the Susquehanna where they continued their plunders, resolved to follow them, and if possible give them battle. Accordingly on Saturday the 31st. of July, his whole army departed from Wyoming and moved up the river on the eastern shore. His baggage occupied one hundred and twenty boats and two thousand horses, the former of which were arranged in regular order upon the river, and were propelled against the stream by soldiers with setting poles, having a sufficient guard of troops to accompany them. The horses, which carried

the provisions for the daily subsistance of the troops, passed along the narrow path in single file, and formed a line extending about six miles. The boats formed a beautiful appearance as they moved in order from their moorings, and as they passed the Fort received a grand salute, which was returned by the loud cheers of the boat-men. The whole scene formed a military display surpassing any which had ever been exhibited at Wyoming, and was well calculated to form a powerful impression upon the minds of those lurking parties of savages which still continued to range upon the mountains from which all these movements were visible for many miles. Gen. Sullivan found the enemy, consisting of about one thousand men, collected near Newtown on the Tioga river, where they had strongly entrenched themselves behind a breastwork extending across a bend of the river, which covered their rear. In this position he attacked them on the 29th of August, and obtained a complete victory, having driven them from the breastwork across the river, whence they fled precipitately into the woods. He then proceeded into the Indian country, and having destroyed eighteen villages, and laid waste the country as far as the Genisee river, returned by the way of Tioga Point to Wyoming. The army arrived at Wyoming on the 7th. of October, 1779—and on the following day an entertainment was given by order of Col. Butler. On the 10th. of this month the army left the Valley, and on the 15th. arrived at Easton.

After the return of Gen. Sullivan, several parties of Indians, stimulated by revenge for the losses they had sustained, continued to range among the mountains of Wyoming in thirst of vengeance upon the white people, and occasionally caught, and tortured in the most cruel manner, any defenceless individuals who came in their way.—Several companies of rustick troops were enlisted in the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania to protect the inhabitants against these incursions, and one from Northampton County, commanded by William Moyer, having proceeded on their march to the Susquehanna, were refreshing themselves at a small stream which falls into the little Nescopeck Creek a short distance above the present village of Conyngham, when they were suddenly attacked by a party consisting of forty Indians and one white man, who killed eleven of the company and mortally wounded two others. As soon as the troops could recover their guns, the fire was returned, and in the attack, ten of the Indians were killed and one mortally wounded. The Indians in their retreat carried away three prisoners, who however, escaped from them the next night at Nanticoke where the wounded Indian died.

The danger of Indian wars being in a great measure removed, the inhabitants returned in great numbers to their possessions at Wyoming, where their settlements again flourished, and their Village was rebuilt. The State of Pennsylvania however, viewed with great displeasure the growth of a Colony within her territorial limits, which refus-

ed to acknowledge her jurisdiction, and totally disregarding the authority of her laws, had set up a government of its own.

Under these circumstances the State applied to the Continental Congress, requesting the appointment of a tribunal which should be authorized to determine the matter in dispute between Pennsylvania and Connecticut concerning the jurisdiction of the respective States over the territory in question. The Congress accordingly appointed a board of Commissioners to hear and determine this question; and this respectable body met at Trenton in New Jersey, where the parties were notified to attend. The State of Connecticut appointed Messrs. Dyer, Johnston and Root, as agents to attend the board on behalf of that State, and Messrs. Bradford, Reed, Wilson and Sergeant, were appointed on the part of Pennsylvania. After a deliberation of more than five weeks, the board, on the 30th of December 1782, pronounced their opinion in the following words, viz:

"We are unanimously of opinion that the State "of Connecticut has no right to the land in con-"troversy.

"We are also unanimously of opinion that the "jurisdiction and preemption of all lands lying "within the charter bounds of Pennsylvania, and "now claimed by the State of Connecticut, do of "right belong to the State of Pennsylvania."

The inhabitants at Wyoming considered the question before the court at Trenton to be a question of *jurisdiction only*, and not one which would

in any degree effect the right of soil. They considered that the State of Connecticut had conveyed her interest in the soil to the Susquehanna Company, and had therefore strictly, in the language of the court, "no right to the *land* in controversy." They therefore acquiesced without the least hesitation in the decision of that court, and immediately signified their willingness to conform to the constituted anthorities of the State of Pennsylvania by a memorial to the General Assembly, from which the following is an extract:

"The honourable Congress established a Court; both sides were cited and appeared; the cause was heard for more than forty days, and the ground stated on which each asserted their right of jurisdiction. On which the court finally adjudged in favour of the State of Pennsylvania, by which the jurisdiction of the disputed territory on which your memorialists live is adjudged yours. By this adjudication we are under your jurisdiction and protection. We are subjects and free citizens of the State of Pennsylvania, and have now to look up to your honours, as our Fathers, guardians and protectors—entitled to every tender regard and respect as to justice, equity, liberty and protection."

"It is impossible that the magnanimity of a powerful and opulent State will ever condescend to distress an innocent and brave people, that have unsuccessfully struggled against the ills of fortune. We care not under what State we live, if we live protected and happy. We will serve you, we will promote your interests, we will fight your

battles, but in mercy, goodness, wisdom, justice and every great and generous principle, leave us our possessions, the dearest pledge of our brothers, children and fathers, which their hands have cultivated, and their blood, spilt in the cause of their country, enriched."

"Wyoming, January 18th, 1783."

Read January 21st, and ordered to lie on the table.

Immediately after the General Assembly had received notice of the decree at Trenton, they appointed a Committee to confer with the Supreme Executive Council concerning the Wyoming controversy, and on the 20th. of February, that Committee reported :—"That the persons now settled at Wyoming, yielding obedience to the laws, are undoubtedly entitled in common with other citizens of this state to protection and the benefits of civil government." The committee also recommended that commissioners should be appointed by the General Assembly to go to Wyoming to examine the state of the country, to act as magistrates, and to recommend what measures the government should adopt in relation to the settlers.

Accordingly on the 25th of February the Assembly appointed William Montgomery, Moses McLean, and Joseph Montgomery, who were directed to attend at Wyoming on the 15th. of April.

These commissioners reported that a reasonable compensation in land should be made to the families of those who had fallen in arms against the common enemy, and to such other settlers as had

a proper Connecticut title, and "did actually reside on the land at the time of the decree at Trenton, provided they immediately relinquish all claim to the soil where they now inhabit, and enter into contracts to deliver up full and quiet possession of their present tenures, to the rightful owners under Pennsylvania by the first of April next."

The guard of continental troops which had been posted at Wyoming being about to be withdrawn, the General Assembly directed two companies of rangers to be stationed at that place, and on the 4th of March the Council "ordered, that Capt. "Thomas Robinson and Capt. Philip Shrawder, be "directed to march to Wyoming and take every "proper measure for maintaining the post there, "and for protecting the settlement." Capt. Shrawder accordingly marched and on the 21st of March took possession of Wyoming fort, to which he gave the name of "Fort Dickinson," in honour of the President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. On the 24th of the same month Capt. Robinson and his company arrived.

By the report of the Commissioners, and by the manner in which the troops conducted themselves after their arrival, the inhabitants discovered that the Government of Pennsylvania considered the Court at Trenton as having decided, not the question of jurisdiction alone, but the right of private property also; and that the troops stationed at Wyoming were intended not only to guard the settlement against the common enemy, but also to protect the Pennsylvania claimants in the posses-

sion of their lands. In this view of affairs the troops began to be considered by the inhabitants rather as their keepers, than their protectors. Capt. Robinson's company having been recalled, the Council in September ordered Capt. Cristie to proceed with his company to Wyoming and reinforce Capt. Shrawder, and also directed James Moore, Esq. a Major in the militia, to repair to that station and take the military command. Two Justices of the Peace, Messrs. Patterson and West, were also directed to accompany the troops and to hold a tribunal for the adjudication of all questions under the civil authority. This reinforcement arrived at Wyoming on the 29th of October, and immediately commenced the exercise of their high functions in the most illegal and disgraceful manner. Those liberal principles of justice and policy which appeared to have actuated the legislature in recommending this appointment, were forgotten or disregarded by those to whom the Council had entrusted their administration; and under this mixed government of civil and military authority the inhabitants of Wyoming suffered little less than when abandoned to their most cruel and savage enemies. The unhappy husbandman saw his cattle driven away, his barns on fire, his children robbed of their bread, and his wife and daughters a prey to a licentious soldiery. Under these accumulated evils, the inhabitants petitioned the Legislature for redress; but as their petition, which was presented early in December, was not acted upon in a proper time, they presented anoth-

er petition to the Congress of the United States, not only setting forth their present difficulties and soliciting redress, but also requesting that a competent tribunal might be appointed in conformity to the ninth article of the confederation of the States, by which the private right of property in the soil might be determined. On the report of a committee to whom this petition was referred, Congress, on the 23d. of January 1784, Resolved, that such tribunal be constituted, and that Congress or a Committee of the States would hear the parties on the fourth Monday of June then next. It happened that on that day neither Congress nor the Committee of the States were sitting, and the controversy came to no determination.

The winter of this year was severely cold, and a body of ice was formed upon the Susquehanna of an uncommon thickness. Immense masses of snow lay in the forests which fed the tributary streams, and the Spring of 1784 opened with a general and sudden thaw. On the 13th. and 14th. of March, there fell immense quantities of rain. The following day the ice in the river began to break up, and the stream rose with great rapidity. The ice first gave way at the different rapids, and floated down in great masses which lodged against the frozen surface of the more gentle parts of the river where it continued firm. In this manner several large dams were formed which caused such an accumulation of the water, that the river overflowed all its banks, and one general inundation overspread the extensive plains of Wyoming. The inhabitants

took refuge on the hills and surrounding heights, and saw their property exposed to the fury of the waters. At length the upper dam gave way, and huge masses of ice were scattered in every direction. The deluge bore down upon the dams below which successively yielded to the insupportable burden, and the whole went off with a noise like the thunder of contending storms. Houses, barns, fences, stacks of hay and grain, cattle, flocks of sheep, and droves of swine, were swept off in the general destruction and seen no more. The plain on which the village of Wilkesbarre is built, was covered with heaps of ice which continued a great portion of the following summer.

The *ice freshet*, as this deluge was called, created so great a scarcity of provisions, that the prospect of approaching want, produced the most gloomy apprehensions among the inhabitants; and the soldiers, in order to provide sufficient stores for themselves, became more ungovernable than before in their acts of indiscriminate plunder upon such property as the more merciful elements had neglected to destroy. These accumulated evils excited much sympathy in the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and the surrounding colonies in behalf of the sufferers, and Mr. Dickinson, President of the Supreme Executive Council, who appears to have largely participated in feelings so honourable to his station, sent, on the 31st of March, the following message to the General Assembly:

"Gentlemen—The late inundation having reduced many of the inhabitants of Wyoming to

great distress, we should be glad if your honourable house would make some immediate provision for their relief."

The General Assembly, however, governed as it then was by the influence of the landholders, did not appear to be influenced by the motives which actuated the Council, and no effectual measures were taken for the relief of the inhabitants. The soldiers continued their acts of violence and plunder under the sanction of the principal magistrate, Justice Patterson, who fearing that his conduct might produce an enquiry on the part of the Council, thought proper to provide against that event, and accordingly in a letter to the Council of the 29th of April, he expresses himself as follows :—"I therefore humbly hope that if any dangerous or seditious commotion should arise in this country, so remote from the seat of government, that it may not be construed into a want of zeal or love for the Commonwealth, if we should, through dire necessity, be obliged to do *some things* not strictly consonant with the letter of the law."

The inhabitants finding at length that the burden of their calamities was too great to be borne, began to resist the illegal proceedings of their new masters, and refused to comply with the decisions of the mock tribunals which had been established. Their resistance enraged the magistrates, and on the 12th of May the soldiers of the garrison were sent to disarm them, and under this pretence one hundred and fifty families were turned out of their dwellings, many of which were burnt, and all ages

and sexes reduced to the same destitute condition. After being plundered of their little remaining property, they were driven from the valley and compelled to proceed on foot through the wilderness by way of the Lackawaxen to the Delaware, a distance of about eighty miles. During this journey the unhappy fugitives suffered all the miseries which human nature appears to be capable of enduring. Old men, whose children were slain in battle, widows with their infant children, and children without parents to protect them, were here companions in exile and sorrow, and wandering in a wilderness where famine and ravenous beasts continued daily to lessen the number of the sufferers. One shocking instance of suffering is related by a survivor of this scene of death; it is the case of a mother whose infant having died, roasted it by piecemeal for the daily subsistence of her remaining children!

Acts of violence, productive of so much misery, caused murmurs to arise, which could not be disregarded by the government of Pennsylvania, and the General Assembly appointed Jonas Hartzel, Robert Brown, and Jacob Stroud, Commissioners, with directions to repair to Wyoming and examine concerning the state of the settlement, and to enquire relative to the conduct of the Pennsylvania officers. These Commissioners were accompanied by the Sheriff of Northumberland county, and on their arrival, having ascertained the abuses which had been committed, they made such representations to government concerning them, that

on the 13th. of June the Troops were discharged, a small number only being retained to garrison Fort Dickinson. The inhabitants were accordingly invited to return to their dwellings by public proclamation, and were promised protection on yielding obedience to the laws. Many of the Troops which had been discharged, were employed by some of the Pennsylvania land claimants to continue at Wyoming, and they formed a band of freebooters, who continued about the settlements for a time, and after the return of the Sheriff and Commissioners, took possession of some vacant houses in Kingston, where they subsisted by plundering the surrounding country. These men afterwards joined Patterson and his small garrison in Fort Dickinson, where they produced such a reinforcement, and a force of such a description, as induced the inhabitants to garrison themselves at Forty-fort.

On the 20th of July a party of the inhabitants proceeded from this post to the flats about five miles below, in order to ascertain the situation of their grain fields, and having passed some distance from the fort, were fired upon by a party consisting of thirty of Patterson's men, commanded by Wm. Brink, when Chester Pierce and Elisha Garret, two distinguished young men, were killed, and the remainder effected their retreat to the fort.

The loss of Pierce and Garret was deeply lamented, and the inhabitants resolved to avenge their murders. Accordingly three days afterwards the garrison of forty fort marched to Wilkesbarre, near the dawn of the day, with an intention of surpri-

zing Patterson and his party, and if possible, to make them prisoners; but the former having received an intimation of their design, retired with his associates into the Fort, and there prepared to defend themselves. The inhabitants surrounded the Fort, but not being in a situation to commence a siege, they secured some of their own property which Patterson had neglected to secure, and leaving a party to guard the fort, proceeded to Mill Creek, and took possession of the mill at that place, the only one in the settlement, and which had been for some time occupied exclusively by Patterson and his party. Here they remained until they had ground a sufficient quantity of grain for their immediate wants, when they again returned to their position at forty fort.

SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY OF WYOMING.

CHAPTER IV.

Fort Dickinson at Wyoming besieged by the Connecticut settlers—Pennsylvania troops sent to Wyoming under Colonel Armstrong—Affair at Locust Hill—Armstrong arrives at Wyoming—He treacherously makes prisoners of the Connecticut settlers—Prisoners escape from Easton and Sunbury—Attack upon the Pennsylvania troops—The Commissioners, Reed and Henderson, killed—Re-enforcements of Pennsylvania troops sent to Wyoming—Letter of President Dickinson—Proceedings of the Council of Censors—Memorial to the Legislature of Connecticut—Memorial to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania—Luzerne county erected—Confirming Law passed—Commissioners sent to Wyoming—Colonel Pickering taken prisoner—Skirmish at Mechoppen—Confirming law repealed—Compensation Law passed—Settlement of the controversy—Intrusion Law passed—Bradford and Susquehanna counties erected.

The acts of violence, which had been committed by Patterson and his associates at Wyoming, excited in the bosoms of the inhabitants the most determined spirit of vengeance; and having collected their forces from the surrounding country, they laid siege to Fort Dickinson, in which these cruel marauders, to the number of sixty-five, attempted

to defend themselves. The Fort at this time mounted four pieces of cannon, but for them they had no ammunition. They had, however, one hundred and thirty muskets, and one large box of cartridges. With these they prepared to repel any attack which should be made previous to the arrival of re enforcements, to procure which, they had dispatched a messenger to Philadelphia, on receiving the first intimation of the contemplated attack.

On the 23d. of July the inhabitants surrounded the Fort, and having continued closely to invest it for three days, resolved to attempt carrying the works by storm, when the following summons was sent to the garrison :—

"Wyoming, July 27, 1784.

"GENTLEMEN—In the name and behalf of the "inhabitants of this place, who held their lands "under the Connecticut claim, and were lately, "without law, or even the color of law, driven "from their possessions in a hostile and unconsti-"tutional manner, we, in the name of these in-"jured and incensed inhabitants, demand an imme-"diate surrender of your garrison into our hands; "together with our possessions and property, "which if complied with, you shall be treated with "humanity and commiseration, otherwise the con-"sequences will prove fatal and bloody to every "person found in the garrison.

"We give you two hours for a decisive answer, "and will receive the same at Mr. Bailey's.

(Signed) "JOHN FRANKLIN,
"In behalf of the injured."

After this message had been sent to the garrison, information was received that troops and magistrates were on their way from Northumberland, to preserve order and to do justice to all parties. The inhabitants immediately raised the siege on receiving this news, and returned to Forty fort, where it was resolved to await the arrival of the magistrates. The messengers which had been sent from Fort Dickinson, communicated to the Council of Pennsylvania the situation of affairs at Wyoming, and on the 29th. of July the Council "Resolved, that the lieutenant of the county of Northampton be directed immediately to draw forth a detachment of three hundred infantry and twelve or fifteen light dragoons, properly officered and equipped, from the militia of said county;" and also, that the Sheriff of the county of Northumberland should raise the posse of that county, and that the lieutenant of the county should aid the Sheriff by such portion of the militia as might be necessary to furnish a proper force for the reduction of Wyoming. On the same day the Council appointed the honourable John Boyd and Lieut. Colonel John Armstrong, Commissioners, "For carrying into execution such measures as shall be judged necessary and expedient for the support of the civil authority, by establishing peace and good order in the county of Northumberland." The territory of Northumberland county then included the Valley of Wyoming, and the Sheriff and militia from that county, as well as those from the county of Northampton, were to act under the di-

rection of these commissioners, who were directed to repair immediately to Wyoming and take the command. John Vancampen, Esquire, was appointed to furnish supplies for the troops, and an order for one hundred pounds was drawn in his favor.

The Council, on receiving information of the affair of the 20th. July, had appointed Thomas Hewet, David Mead and Robert Martin, Commissioners, to repair to Wyoming and restore peace to the settlement by disarming both the contending parties; and the approach of these commissioners had prevented the attack upon Fort Dickinson. They arrived on the 29th. and on the 30th. July a conference was held between the belligerent parties, agreeably to the wish of the commissioners, with a view of effecting some accommodation of their contentions. These conferences not having produced the desired effect, the commissioners on the 5th. of August addressed a letter to each of the parties, requiring, under the authority of the State, that they should deliver to the Sheriff, who had accompanied them from Sunbury, all their fire arms and a number of men as hostages for the preservation of the peace. To these letters no attention was paid by either of the parties, for information had previously been received of the approach of the troops under Armstrong and Boyd, and measures had been taken by one party to annoy, and by the other, to accelerate their movements.

On the 1st. of August Colonel Armstrong and Colonel Boyd arrived at Easton, where a portion

of their troops had assembled, and where they were to receive supplies. On the 3d. they proceeded to "Larner's," a public Inn near the Pokono mountain, at a place which commanded the entrance into the swamp through which the road to Wyoming passed, and which had been designated as the place of general rendezvous for all the troops composing the expedition. In order to secure possession of the road which led to Wyoming, and to prevent any surprize of his troops on their march, Armstrong had thought it necessary to occupy an eminence called Locust Hill, and a number of men having volunteered for this service, Colonel James Moore was appointed to command the party, who proceeded immediately to that position and took possession of a small log house erected there.

The inhabitants of Wyoming having received notice that troops were organizing beyond the Pokono mountain to attack them, and that a party had already taken possession of Locust Hill, a company of volunteers was immediately formed, to attack them, under the command of Capt. John Swift. They commenced their march, and on the morning of the 2d. of August, having advanced near the house under cover of the woods, opened their fire upon it; and a shot passing in at a window, killed Jacob Everet, and wounded two others, when the besieging party withdrew, and again returned to Wyoming. Armstrong in his letter to the Council, gives the following account of the affair:

"Colonel Moore, aggreeably to a plot which we

had concerted in Philadelphia, had collected about twenty volunteers with whom he had taken possession of a little height about mid-way in the swamp merely to command the avenue by which we proposed to march. The Colonel had lain there some days, believing himself to be perfectly secure, as they were still in Northampton county, when without any provocation on his part, or previous notice on theirs, he was fired upon by the insurgents, drawn into a little hut and there obliged to suffer a two hours attack of great violence, in which three of his men were wounded and one killed. The assailants then withdrew into the swamp and the Colonel retired hither. This little rencontre would have been much more equal had not the Colonel himself been sick of a fever, and his party so much dispersed."

Armstrong continued at Larner's until the 14th of August, although the 7th. had been appointed for their march, but the delay, and difficulty of collecting and providing for the militia who were to accompany him, continually retarded his movements. At length, having called only a small force, he proceeded to Wyoming where he found the magistrates, Hewit, Meade and Martin, together with some troops who had arrived from Northumberland. These re-enforcements, together with those previously stationed there, constituted a force of about four hundred men, the command of which devolved upon Armstrong,* who having received

* The same John Armstrong who has since been Secretary at War and Minister to France.

information that the inhabitants were in garrison at Forty Fort, conceived the design of ensnaring them into his power, rather than to attempt reducing them by force. Accordingly a message was sent to them with assurance that both parties would be required to lay down their arms, and that peace and tranquility should be again restored. This was accompanied with a copy of a manifesto which he had caused to be published immediately after his arrival, declaring that he came for the purpose of executing the laws, establishing order, and "protecting the more peaceable inhabitants." Many of the inhabitants suspected treachery, and for a time refused to disarm themselves; but the positive assurances of Armstrong, who was Secretary to the Council, and whose public character seemed to repel suspicion, at length prevailed. They repaired to Fort Dickinson to present claims for the property which had been unlawfully taken from them, and were immediately seized by the troops under the command of Armstrong, and closely confined in the Block house during two days, after which they were bound together in pairs and sent to prison at Easton. Forty-two others who had previously put themselves into Armstrong's power under the same assurances, were also bound with ropes, and afterwards sent under a strong guard to the prison at Sunbury, where they arrived on the 24th. of August, and the next morning ten of them made their escape. A sergeant's guard was immediately mounted at the prison to secure the remainder who were thrown together into a dirty apart-

ment, and treated with great rigour. Those who were sent to Easton were confined in one large apartment in the Jail at that place, until the 17th. of September. On that day the assistant keeper of the prison came to the apartment as usual to furnish supplies, when one of the prisoners, of the name of Inman, seized him by the neck, and forcing the keys from his hands, knocked him down with them, by which blow the man fainted, and all the prisoners made their escape. After the prisoners had been sent to Easton and Sunbury, most of the troops remaining at Wyoming were discharged; the remainder formed a garrison in Fort Dickinson, while Armstrong, Patterson, and their associates, proceeded to gather the harvest which had been planted by the inhabitants.

Many of those who resided in the remote parts of the settlement, and who had not put themselves in the power of Armstrong, assembled at Bowman's creek, where their numbers were considerably augmented by the return of some of the prisoners, and by some re-enforcements from Vermont; and having been informed that Armstrong's forces at Wilkesbarre were much reduced by the discharge of a portion of the troops, took possession of Forty Fort, and prepared themselves to protect the remainder of the harvest. About the 20th. of September as a party of Armstrong's men were attempting to gather a part of the harvest, they were attacked by a number of the inhabitants from Forty-Fort who compelled them to abandon their plunder and seek refuge in Fort Dickinson. Immedi-

ately on receiving notice of this affair, Armstrong detached as many men as could be spared from the garrison in pursuit of what he called the "*insurgents*," who took refuge in a cluster of log-houses from which his troops attempted to dislodge them, but were driven back with the loss of two men wounded. Armstrong by way of apology for this retreat, observes in his letter to the president of the Council :—"I need scarcely observe to your Excellency, that four log houses so constructed as to flank each other, become a very formidable post." He retired with his troops to the fort where he found himself capable of defence, and dispatched a messenger to the Council to request re-enforcements. These proceedings served to convince the inhabitants that Armstrong's force was small, and as they severely felt the loss of the fire arms which he had so treacherously taken from them, they concluded it would be a favorable time to recover them previous to the arrival of any re-enforcements, and having ascertained that they were deposited in a house near the bank of the river they proceeded to the house on Sunday night, the 25th. of September, and as they were attempting to break it open, they were attacked by a detachment of Armstrong's party, placed in a proper position as a guard, and after exchanging a few shots the inhabitants retired. The next day Colonel Armstrong set out for Philadelphia, to represent the state of affairs at Wyoming, and to request of the Council the appointment of a sufficient force to protect the Pennsylvania claimants. On the night of the 27th. about fif-

teen of the inhabitants surrounded the house where Patterson and the Commissioners lodged, and commenced an attack upon it with fire arms, which was continued for about two hours, during which time Messrs Reed and Henderson, two of the magistrates, were mortally wounded. The inhabitants having recovered their arms, withdrew, and Colonel Franklin on their behalf sent a statement of the transaction to the Council at Philadelphia, in which he states that these events were not produced by any disposition to disregard the laws, but to be revenged on Patterson and Armstrong for their treachery.

An account of these transactions having been received in Philadelphia, the Council on the 2d. of October, "Ordered, that a detachment of fifty men properly officered and equipped, be immediately drawn forth from the militia of the county of Bucks, and that the like number of men be in like manner immediately drawn forth from the militia of the county of Berks, to be sent to Wyoming for quieting the disturbances and supporting the civil authority in that district." The Council on the same day appointed John Armstrong to be Adjutant General of the Militia, with directions to take charge of the troops which were to march to Wyoming, and to maintain the post there. These measures of the Council appear to have been taken contrary to the wishes of the President, John Dickinson, Esquire, who, on the 5th. of October, sent to the Council Chamber a letter from which the following is an extract:

"Being still indisposed and unable to attend in "Council to day, I think it my duty, notwithstand-"ing what has been already offered, to request "that you will be pleased further to consider the "propriety of calling a body of militia into actual "service, on the intelligence yet received, and in "the manner proposed. If the intention is that "the militia should assist the Pennsylvania claim-"ants in securing the corn planted on the lands "from which the settlers were expelled last spring, "such a procedure will drive those settlers into "absolute despair. They will have no alternative "but to fight for the corn, or suffer, *perhaps* to *per-"ish*, for want of it in the coming winter. The "Commissioners have informed the Council that "their determination on that alternative will most "probably be" [Here is a space left in the entries of this letter in the Book containing the minutes of the Council, over which is a long black mark drawn, as if some cause prevented the insertion of this part of the President's letter, which thus proceeds :] "They will regard this step as the commencement "of a war against them, and perhaps others whose "sentiments are of vastly more importance, may "be of the same opinion. I am perfectly convin-"ced of the uncommon merit of Colonel Arm-"strong, but the appointment of an Adjutant-"General upon this occasion, and bestowing that "appointment on the Secretary of the Council, "when it is well known that the settlers view him "in the light of an enemy, are circumstances that "may promote unfavorable constructions of the "conduct of government.

"The public bodies which have lately assem-
"bled in this city, have fully testified their disap-
"probation of hostilities on account of the disputes
"at Wyoming; and upon the whole, there is too
"much reason to be persuaded that the plan now
"meditated will, if carried into execution, produce
"very unhappy consequences.

"Knowing the uprightness of your intentions,
"Gentlemen, I feel great pain in dissenting from
"your judgment; and if the measure is pursued,
"from esteem for you and affection for the Com-
"monwealth, I have only to wish, as I most hear-
"tily do, that I may be proved by the event to have
"been mistaken."

The Council, on consideration of the letter from the President, "Resolved, That the measures "adopted on the second instant be pursued;" and on the same day issued a proclamation, offering a reward of twenty-five pounds for the apprehension of eighteen of the principal inhabitants whose names were mentioned.

Armstrong proceeded under his new appointment to collect and organize the troops destined for the expedition to Wyoming; but notwithstanding all the assistance which the Government could give him, in addition to his own exertions, he could not prevail upon the militia to undertake an expedition so revolting to their feelings, and on the 14th. of October he commenced his march, at the head of forty men only, and arrived at Wyoming on Sunday the 16th. The inhabitants on his approach retired to Forty-fort, where they formed a garrison of about seventy men, and Armstrong, not

being sufficiently strong to attack them, wrote to the Council for re-enforcements. Much exertion was made throughout the counties of Northampton, Bucks and Berks, to raise troops for another expedition to Wyoming; but the public mind had become averse to the measure, and no re-enforcements could be procured. Many of the people of Pennsylvania began to consider the inhabitants a persecuted people, and all the influence of the landholders in the Council and Assembly was necessary to maintain even a small armed force at post. This disposition of the public mind was much strengthened by the proceedings of the Council of Censors, to which President Dickinson alluded in his letter.

By the first Constitution of Pennsylvania, which was established immediately after the Declaration of Independence, the Government of the Commonwealth was vested in a House of Representatives, a President, and Council. Another inefficient Council was also established, called the "Council of Censors," who were chosen by the people, and directed to meet every seventh year; "and whose "duty it shall be," says the constitution, "to en-"quire whether the constitution has been preser-"ved inviolate in every part, and whether the "Legislative and Executive branches of the Gov-"ernment have performed their duty as guardians "of the people, or assumed to themselves, or exer-"cised, other or greater powers than they are en-"titled to by the constitution. They are also to "enquire whether the public taxes have been just-

"ly laid and collected in all parts of the Common-
"wealth; in what manner the public monies have
"been disposed of, and whether the laws have been
"duly executed. For these purposes they shall
"have power to send for persons, papers and re-
"cords. They shall have authority to pass public
"censures, to order impeachments, and to recom-
"mend to the Legislature the repealing such laws
"as appear to them to have been enacted contrary
"to the principles of the constitution."

This Council of Censors met at Philadelphia in the summer of 1784, and having received information of the transactions at Wyoming, on the 7th of September, ordered, that the President and Supreme Executive Council should furnish certain documents in relation to their proceedings in the case of the Connecticut settlers, at and near that place; and that William Bradford, Jun. and James Wilson, Esquires, Council for Pennsylvania in this case, should furnish all the documents in their hands on the subject. On the 8th. Mr. Bradford surrendered the documents in his hands in obedience to the order, and the Secretary of the Supreme Executive Council informed the Council of Censors by letter that the documents required of them had been transmitted to the General Assembly. On the following day the Council of Censors passed a resolution requiring the General Assembly to furnish the said documents. The Assembly proceeded immediately into the consideration of the order, and passed a resolution *refusing* to comply with it. In consequence of this refusal on the

part of the Assembly, the Council of Censors, on the 10th. of the same month, issued process against the General Assembly in the following words :

"The Council of Censors, in the name, and by the authority of the people of Pennsylvania, to the General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania, *Send Greeting* :—We demand of you that you without delay or excuse, forthwith send into this Council of Censors, the documents and papers hereunder mentioned, now, as it is said, in your keeping, that is to say, the Report of the Committee appointed the 9th. of December last, to enquire into the charges contained in a petition from a number of the inhabitants of Wyoming, and the papers and affidavits accompanying the same, and the letter from Zebulon Butler and others of Wyoming, read in the Supreme Executive Council on the 28th. of May, 1784, and which was by them transmitted to the house.

"Signed by order of the Council of Censors, now sitting in the State House, in the city of Philadelphia, on this 10th. day of September, Anno Domini, one thousand seven hundred and eighty four."

"FREDERICK A. MUHLENBERG,
President of the Council of Censors.

"Attest, SAMUEL BRYAN, Secretary."

The mandamus of the Censors was received by the General Assembly with the utmost contempt, and the House, as if forgetful of the dignified character of the Council, and unmindful of the high authority vested in them by the Constitution, refused

not only to send the required papers, but also to give any answer whatever to the process. When it was ascertained that no answer was to be expected from the Assembly, the Council declared that "this unwarrantable conduct of the wrong doers themselves has but the more decidedly convinced this Council of *the truth of the complaints* of the settlers at Wyoming, and of the utter neglect of the Government to protect the oppressed inhabitants." On the same day the Council of Censors passed a public censure upon the conduct of the Government of Pennsylvania in relation to the Connecticut settlers in the following words:

"It is the opinion of this Council that the decision made at Trenton early in 1783, between the State of Connecticut and this Commonwealth, concerning the *territorial rights* of both, was favourable to Pennsylvania. It likewise promised the happiest consequences to the confederacy, as an example was thereby set of two contending sovereignties adjusting their differences in a court of Justice, instead of involving themselves, and perhaps their confederates, in war and bloodshed. It is much to be regretted that this happy event was not improved on the part of this State as it might have been.—That the persons claiming lands at and near Wyoming, occupied by the emigrants from Connecticut, now become subjects of Pennsylvania, were not left to prosecute their claims in the proper course without the intervention of the legislature.—That a body of troops was enlisted after the Indian war had ceased and the civil gov-

ernment had been established, and stationed at Wyoming for no other apparent purpose than that of promoting the interests of the claimants under the former grants of Pennsylvania.—That these troops were kept up, and continued there, without the license of Congress, in violation of the confederation.—*That they were suffered, without restraint to injure and oppress the neighboring inhabitants*, during the course of the last winter.—That the injuries done to these people excited the compassion and interposition of the State of Connecticut, who thereupon demanded of Congress another hearing in order to *investigate the private claims* of the settlers at Wyoming, formerly inhabitants of New England, who from this instance of partiality in our own rulers have been led to distrust the justice of the State, when in the mean time, *numbers of these soldiers, and other disorderly persons, in a most riotous and inhuman manner, expelled the New England settlers*, before mentioned, from their habitations, and drove them towards the Delaware through unsettled and almost impassable ways, leaving those unhappy outcasts to suffer every species of misery and distress.—That this armed force stationed as aforesaid at Wyoming, as far as we can see, without any public advantage in view, has cost the Commonwealth the sum of £4460, and upwards, for the bare levying, providing, and paying of them, besides other expenditures of public monies.—That the authority for embodying these troops was given privately, and unknown to the good people of Pennsylvania, the

same being directed by a mere resolve of the house of Assembly, brought in and read the first time on Monday the 22d. September, 1783, when on motion, and by special order, the same was read a second time and adopted.--That the putting this resolve on the secret journal of the House, and concealing it from the people, after the war with the savages had ceased, and the inhabitants of Wyoming had submitted to the government of the State, sufficiently marks and fixes the clandestine and partial interest of the armament, no such condition having been thought necessary in the defence of the northern and western frontiers during the late war.--And lastly, we regret the fatal example which this transaction has set of private persons, at least equally able with their opponents to maintain their own cause, procuring the interest of the Commonwealth in their behalf, and the aid of the public treasury. The opprobrium which from hence has resulted to this State, and the dissatisfaction and prospect of dissention, now existing with one of our sister States, the violation of the confederation, and the injury hereby done to such of the Pennsylvania claimants of lands at Wyoming, occupied as aforesaid, as have given no countenance to, but on the contrary have disavowed, these extravagant proceedings. In short, we lament that our government has in this business manifested little wisdom, or foresight; nor have acted as guardians of the rights of the people committed to their care. Impressed with the multiplied evils which have sprung from the imprudent

management of this business, *we hold it up to public censure*, to prevent, if possible, further instances of bad government, which might convulse and distract our new formed nation."

Notwithstanding the respectable authority from which these opinions proceeded, and the public manner in which they were pronounced, the Supreme Executive Council regarded them with as much indifference as they did the letter of the President; and as if anxious to show their contempt for public opinion, they not only sent Colonel Armstrong with a second expedition to Wyoming, but continued to exert their utmost endeavours to furnish him with re-enforcements. In this measure, however, they totally failed, for the declaration pronounced by the Censors, furnished a reasonable excuse for refusing to obey the orders of the Council, and Colonel Armstrong and his forty men continued to occupy the Block House in the ruins of fort Dickinson, with a force too weak to support an extensive system of plunder, and the certainty of an approaching winter with a very limited means of support.

The inhabitants who supported a garrison at Forty-fort, continued, under the protection of guards, to gather their corn; but as they expected Armstrong would soon be in force sufficient to deprive them of their means of subsistence, viewed the prospect before them as gloomy and discouraging. They however sent memorials to Congress, to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and to the Legislature of Connecticut. To the last men-

tioned body they gave an account of the transactions at Wyoming for the last few years, alluded to the decision of the jurisdiction in favor of Pennsylvania, and of their submission to the authority of the State, but complained that although they supplicated like children, yet they found no protection; that their petitions to the government of Pennsylvania were treated with neglect, and the government instead of relieving their distresses, had sent an armed force against them; that their numbers were at that time reduced to about two thousand souls, most of whom were women and children, driven in many cases from their proper habitations, and living in huts of bark in the woods, without provisions for the approaching winter, while the Pennsylvania troops and land claimants, were in possession of their houses and farms, and wasting and destroying their cattle and subsistence. The Legislature, then sitting at New Haven, in answer to this memorial, alluded to their want of Jurisdiction, recommended an application to Congress, and promised the aid and assistance of that Legislature, both with Congress and the government of Pennsylvania.

As winter approached, Armstrong, finding that re-enforcements were not to be expected, abandoned the post at Wyoming, and having discharged his troops, returned to Philadelphia. Thus ended the last expedition fitted out by the government of Pennsylvania, to operate against her own peaceful citizens. Various attempts were made by the inhabitants of Wyoming, during the two succeeding

years, to effect the appointment of a tribunal for trying the title to the lands between themselves and the Pennsylvania claimants, but all to no effect, the government of Pennsylvania successfully interfering at all times to prevent it. At length the inhabitants concluded to propose a compromise of their claims, and accordingly sent a memorial to the General Assembly, which was read in March 1787, proposing that in case the Commonwealth would grant them the seventeen Townships which had been laid out, and in which settlements had been commenced previous to the decree at Trenton, they would on their part, relinquish all their claims to any other lands within the limits of the Susquehanna purchase. These townships were Salem, Newport, Hanover, Wilkesbarre, Pittston, Northmoreland, Putnam, Braintrim, Springfield, Claverack, Ulster, Exeter, Kingston, Plymouth, Bedford, Huntington and Providence. The towns are represented to be as nearly square as circumstances would permit, and to be about five miles on a side, and severally divided into lots of three hundred acres each, as near as may be, of which one was to be appropriated to the use of the first settled minister of the Gospel *in fee*—one for the Parsonage—and one for the support of a school—three to remain as public lots, subject to the future disposition of the Towns—and the remainder, to be appropriated to purchasers or settlers. In consideration of which arrangement being confirmed by the Assembly, the Pennsylvania claimants were to relinquish such lands lying within those Townships, as the

State had previously granted to them. On the 25th. of the preceding September, an act had been passed, erecting all that part of Northumberland county, extending from the falls of Nescopeck to the northern boundary of the State, into a separate county, to be called "Luzerne," in honor of the Minister from France, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who had a short time before the passage of the act, returned to Paris. This County included all the Wyoming settlements; it had been erected at the request of the inhabitants, and furnished an evidence that the measures of the government would in future be less hostile to their peace and security. On the 28th. of March, 1787, an act was passed, complying with the request of the inhabitants in relation to their lands. Commissioners were appointed to cause a re-survey of the lots claimed by the respective settlers, and to give them *Certificates* of the regularity of their claims. These Commissioners were Timothy Pickering, William Montgomery, and Stephen Balliot, Esquires, who proceeded to Wyoming and entered upon the duties of their appointments. Although a very large proportion of the inhabitants resided within the seventeen Townships, yet there were many whose farms were not situated within those limits, and as they were consequently not included among the number of those to whom the law would apply, they made a determined opposition to its execution. Their object appears to have been to contend for the whole territory, or to procure such terms as would satisfy all the inhabitants. A number of those persons

having been informed that the Commissioners had arrived, and were about to proceed in executing the law, came down from Wyalusing and that vicinity in the night, and seizing Colonel Pickering, returned with him a prisoner. A company of about fifteen men under the command of Capt. William Ross, pursued the rioters, but as they had concealed themselves in the woods, among the mountains of Mahoopeny, the place of their retreat was not easily ascertained, particularly as their movements were only in the night; for during the day they lay concealed to guard their prisoner, who was kept bound to a tree. About the dawn of the day, Capt. Ross' company fell in with a company of the rioters near the mouth of Meshoppen creek, and a skirmish ensued, in which Capt. Ross was wounded. Col. Myers and Capt. Schotts also proceeded, with a portion of the militia, in pursuit of the rioters, whose retreat was at length ascertained, and the party having rescued Col. Pickering, returned with him to Wilkesbarre. A sword was afterwards presented to Capt. Ross, by the Supreme Executive Council, for his gallantry in this affair.

Against the execution of this law, there was also opposed another and more powerful class of citizens. These were those persons, principally inhabitants of Pennsylvania, to whom the State had previously sold a great portion of these lands, and who considered, and perhaps very justly, that the Legislature had no authority to deprive them of their lands, with a view to dispose of them again to the claimants under Connecticut. Such was the

effect of the opposition that the next year the act was suspended, and afterwards entirely repealed. Thus the question of title was again thrown into its former position, and during the ten succeeding years, continued to retard the settlement of the country, and to create continual contention and distrust between the respective claimants; but the situation of the inhabitants of Wyoming was very different from what it had been in the former stages of the controversy. They were represented in the General Assembly by one of their own number, and they were the executors of the laws within their own district. Pennsylvania had adopted a new Constitution, and was governed by a more liberal policy. Petitions were again presented to the Legislature, praying for the passage of another law upon the principles of the one which had been repealed, and in April, 1799, an act was passed providing for a final settlement of the controversy, so far as related to the inhabitants of the seventeen Townships. By this act Commissioners were appointed to cause a survey to be made of all the lands claimed by the Connecticut settlers, and which had been assigned to such settlers previous to the decision at Trenton, according to the rules and regulations amongst them. They were also to value the lands—to divide them into four classes, according to the quality—to make out a certificate for each claimant, specifying the number of acres and the class or quality of the land, and the number of his lot, and to annex to the certificate a draft of the same. The same Commissioners were also

to cause a re-survey to be made of all the lands claimed by the Pennsylvania claimants, situated in the seventeen townships, which should be released or re-conveyed by such claimants to the Commonwealth; and to divide the same into four classes, according to the quality of the land. As soon as forty thousand acres should be so released to the state, and the Connecticut settlers claiming land to the same amount, should bind themselves to submit to the determination of the Commissioners, then the law was to take effect; and the Pennsylvania claimants who had so released their land, were to receive a compensation for the same from the State Treasury, at the rate of five dollars per acre for lands of the first class, three dollars for the second, one dollar and fifty cents for the third, and twenty-five cents for lands of the fourth class. The Connecticut settlers were also to receive patents from the State confirming their lands to them upon condition of paying into the Treasury the sum of two dollars per acre, for lands of the first class, one dollar and twenty cents for lands of the second class, fifty cents for lands of the third class, and eight and one third cents for lands of the fourth class; the certificates issued by the Commissioners to regulate the settlement of accounts in both cases. Thus while the State was selling her vacant lands to her other citizens, at twenty-six cents an acre, she demanded of the Connecticut settlers a sum, which, upon the supposition that there was the same quantity of land in each class, would average ninety-four cents an acre.—

Compensation was made to the Pennsylvania claimant only in cases where the warrant and survey were executed previous to the passage of the law of 1787. This act which is commonly called the "Compensation Law," has been carried into full effect, and has been the principal cause of finally terminating that long and bloody controversy, in which the troubles of Wyoming principally originated.

As this law, however, affected those lands in the seventeen Townships only, and as a large body of lands in the Northern parts of the County continued to be settled very fast, principally by emigrants from New England, claiming under the Connecticut title, the Legislature became apprehensive that, unless those settlements were checked, another system of opposition to the laws would be formed, and accordingly, on the eleventh of April, 1795, passed an act to prevent intrusions on lands in the counties of Northumberland and Luzerne, which provided that any person who should come to settle on any lands in those counties, under any title not derived from the State of Pennsylvania, should be subject to a fine of one thousand dollars, and to imprisonment at hard labor, not exceeding eighteen months. An Agent was appointed to reside at Wyoming, to enquire into offences committed against the law; and every male person above the age of twenty-one years, coming to reside within the counties of Wayne, Northampton, Luzerne, Northumberland or Lycoming, was directed to deliver within three months from the time of his

arrival, under the penalty of forty dollars to the agent or his deputy—sheriff or constable, a written declaration of his name and place of abode, and of the State or foreign Country in which he last resided; and also whether he claimed any, and what lands within the Commonwealth, and the title under which he claimed the same. The Governor was also authorized to call out the militia to carry the act into effect. This act, together with a supplement passed in 1801, form the last of those disgraceful measures which the records of Pennsylvania exhibit against the persecuted inhabitants of Wyoming. The Agent attempted a few prosecutions under this law, but the Courts neglected to carry it into effect, and this, like many previous measures, proved an abortive attempt to effect what the permanent laws of the Commonwealth had provided other means to accomplish. Those claims having at length been quieted, and the Pennsylvania titles fully established, the two counties of Bradford and Susquehanna were erected, and the Wyoming controversy finally became extinct. The New England emigrants have become obedient, industrious and valuable citizens in their adopted State; and Wyoming, under the present mild and liberal government of Pennsylvania, enjoys that repose which a long train of unparalleled sufferings had rendered necessary to her happiness and prosperity.

NOTE I.

The following is the signification of several Indian names which are still retained at and near Wyoming:

Hanna or *Hannah*....Signifies a stream of water.

Susquehanna....*Muddy* or *riley* river.

Lechaw....The *forks*, or point of intersection. The Lehigh River is still pronounced '*Lechaw*' by the Germans.

Lechaw-hanna....The meeting of two streams. Hence our name '*Lackawanna*.'

Tope-hanna....Alder stream, or stream having alders growing along its banks. Hence the name '*Tobyhanna*.'

Tonk-honna....Two smaller streams falling into a larger one opposite to each other. Hence the name *Tunkhannock*, which in the Indian language included *Tunkannock* and *Bowman's creek*, with an additional term to designate one from the other.

Mavshapi....Cord or reed stream. Hence *Meshoppen*.

Nescopeck or *Neschoppeck*....Deep, black water.

Tyaogo....A word of the Six Nations, signifying "*gate*" or "*door*," a figurative expression. The

Delawares say the North *door* of their Council House was at the head of tide on the North or Hudson river, and the South *door* at the head of the tide on the Potomac.

Nawpawnollend....The place where the messengers were murdered. This word by a corruption has become "*Wapwallopen.*" In Luzerne it signified the stream near which was murdered Thomas Hill, a messenger from the Governor of Pennsylvania to the Indians at Wyoming.

Woaphollaughpink....A place where white hemp grows. Hence the name "*Wapahawly.*"

Maugh Chunk... Signifies Bear Mountain.—The village of Mauch Chunk is at the foot of this mountain, and on a stream of the same name, i. e. *Bear Mountain Creek.*

The above particulars, and many of the incidents of the early Indian History, were communicated to the writer by the Rev. John Heckawelder, of Bethlehem, when he was compiling his History of the American Indians, and have been omitted in that work, as he informed the author they would be, in consequence of that communication.

NOTE II.

The following is a copy of the articles of capitulation agreed upon after the Battle of Wyoming.

Westmoreland, 4th July, 1778.

"CAPITULATION AGREEMENT—Made and completed between John Butler, in behalf of his Majesty King George the Third, and Colonel Nathan Denison of the United States of America.

"ARTICLE I. It is agreed that the settlement lay down their arms, and their garrison be demolished.

ARTICLE II. That the inhabitants occupy their farms peaceably, and the lives of the inhabitants be preserved entire and unhurt.

ARTICLE III. That the Continental stores are to be given up.

ARTICLE IV. That Colonel Butler will use his utmost influence that the private property of the inhabitants shall be preserved entire to them.

ARTICLE V. That the prisoners in Forty fort be delivered up.

ARTICLE VI. That the property taken from the people called Tories, be made good: and that they remain in peaceable possession of their farms, and unmolested in a free trade through this settlement.

ARTICLE VII. That the inhabitants which Col. Denison capitulates for, together with himself, do not take up arms during this contest.

(Signed) "JOHN BUTLER,
"NATHAN DENISON."

NOTE III.

List of the officers killed at the Battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778.

Lieutenant Colonel—George Dorrance.

Major—Wait Garret.

CAPTAINS.—Dottrick Hewet, Robert Durkee,* Aholab Buck, Asa Whittlesey, Lazarus Stewart, Samuel Ransom,* James Bidlack, ——— Geere, ———McKanachin, ———Wigdon.*

LIEUTENANTS.—Timothy Pierce,* James Welles,* Elijah Shoemaker, Lazarus Stewart, 2d, Peren Ross,* Asa Stevens.

ENSIGNS.—Asa Gore, ———Avery.

Note.—Those with this mark (*) were the five who arrived from the continental army just before the battle.

APPENDIX.

LUZERNE COUNTY, in nearly the centre of which lies the *Valley of Wyoming*, is bounded N. by Susquehanna and Bradford ; E. by Wayne ; S. E. by Wayne, Pike and Northampton ; S. by Schuylkill ; S. W. by Columbia ; and W. by Columbia and Lycoming. Its territory averages about 45 miles in length, from north to south, and 40 miles in breadth, from east to west, and contains about 1800 square miles. The Susquehanna river enters the County near its north-west angle, thence running a N. E. direction, and crossing the mountain ridges nearly at right angles, it breaks into the Wyoming valley near the mouth of the Lackawannock river ; thence it turns and runs S. W. about 20 miles, where it breaks through the mountain out of the valley, and continues generally the same course until it passes out of the county a little below the mouth of the Nescopeck creek. It is mountainous, and the mountains run in parrallel ridges in a S. W. and N. E. direction. The soil of the vallies is generally of an excellent quality, and well adapted to the growing of grain ; that of the highlands, is better adapted to grazing.—Perhaps one half of its whole surface may be cultivated, and the greater portion of the other half may advantageously be used for pasturage.

By the census of 1810, Luzerne county contained a population of 18,109. It then included the whole of Susquehanna, and the most populous portion of Bradford. By the census of 1820, Luzerne contained a population of 20,027 ; Susquehanna 9,960, and Bradford 11,554. Total

population in the three counties 41,541—showing an increase in the three counties, in the ten years, of at least 100 per cent. It is believed that the census of 1830, will shew a population in Luzerne of more than 30,000.

Luzerne county is divided into twenty-six townships. Their names, alphabetically arranged, with their boundaries, and a brief description of each, follow. There are occasionally introduced some scraps of local history, which will, it is hoped, be interesting, if not to the general reader, at least, to the people of the neighborhood.

Abington is bounded N. by Nicholson; E. by Greenfield; S. by Providence; S. W. by Falls, and W. by Tunkhannock. Its timber is principally beech, sugar-maple, ash, red cherry and hemlock. Tributaries of the Tunkhannock and Lackawannock, either head in, or flow through, this township, which afford many excellent mill sites; and springs of the purest water may be found on almost every hundred acres of land.

The soil is better adapted to grazing, than the growing of grain. When once cleared, white clover springs up spontaneously, and grows luxuriantly. Timothy is the principal grass cut for fodder, of which from one to two tons per acre are produced. A considerable portion of this township is settled, and some part of it pretty well cultivated. Wild lands of a good quality are selling here at from *three* to *five dollars* per acre. This township produces annually for market, considerable quantities of maple sugar, butter, cheese, (of a good quality,) wool, domestic flannels and linens, oats, horses, cattle and sheep.

The Philadelphia and Great Bend turnpike road passes nearly through its centre—an act has been passed to authorize the incorporation of a Company for making a turnpike from this township to Montrose, and township roads are opened in every

direction. The settlers are principally from New England, and are a hardy, industrious and thriving people. School houses are erected in every neighborhood, in which schools are kept during the greater part of the year.

Abington is situate about 25 miles N. E. from Wilkes-Barre, has three post-offices, and contains about 1300 inhabitants.

Blakeley is bounded N. by the county of Susquehanna; E. by the county of Wayne; S. E. by Covington; S. W. by Providence, and N. W. by Greenfield. This township was called Blakeley from respect to the memory of Capt. Johnston Blakeley, who commanded the U. S. sloop of war *Wasp*, and who signalized himself in an engagement with the British sloop *Avon*.

The timber in the northern part of this township, is principally beech, maple, hemlock, ash and cherry; in the southern, it is pine, oak, hickory and chesnut. The Lackawannock enters it near its N. E. angle, and flows S. W. until it intersects its south-western boundary, a distance of about 15 miles, dividing it into nearly two equal parts.

The Anthracite coal formation commences near the sources of the Lackawannock, not far from Belmont, the residence of Thomas Meredith, Esquire, and extends through the whole valley of the Lackawannock, cropping out upon the hills and mountains on each side. It is every where exposed in the bottom and banks of the river, and in all the little ravines formed by its tributaries. It is mined with little expense—its strata having very little dip. The coal lands of the Hudson and Delaware Canal Company are located in this township. The rail-road from the basin at the western termination of the Lackawaxen canal, terminates here; and Carbondale, a village containing several stores, mechanics shops, and well-built dwelling houses, and about 400 inhabitants, has grown up, upon a

spot where two years since but a single log cabin was to be found. The Company have constructed an excellent artificial road from Carbondale to intersect the Milford and Owego turnpike upon the top of Moosic mountain, at Rix's Gap, a distance of about three miles;—the Milford and Owego turnpike passes through the northern Division of this township: the Luzerne and Wayne county turnpike passes through its eastern, and the Clifford and Wilkesbarre turnpike through its western divisions; and a company has been incorporated for making a turnpike road from Carbondale, along the Lackawannock river, to intersect the Clifford and Wilkes-Barre turnpike, a distance of about ten miles, from whence there is an excellent road to Wilkes-Barre.

A considerable portion of this township will admit of cultivation. Numerous mill sites are furnished by the Lackawannock and its tributaries. It is situate about 23 miles N. E. from Wilkes-Barre—has two post-offices, and contains a population of about 1000 souls.

Braintrim is bounded N. by the county of Susquehanna; E. and S. E. by Tunkhannock; S. by the Susquehanna river, which separates it from Windham; and W. by the county of Bradford.

The river bottom in this township was originally covered with black walnut; from which it is called "Black Walnut Bottom." The hills produce pine, oak and hickory, and will generally admit of culture, and when improved, produce good crops of summer and winter grain. The Tuscarora, and the big and little Meshoppen creeks, afford excellent mill sites. A Woollen factory has been in operation for several years upon the big Meshoppen, furnishing a market for wool, and manufacturing excellent cloths for the surrounding country. The worthy proprietors, Messrs. Sterling and

Parker, deserve great praise for their persevering exertions in this branch of domestic manufactures.

A considerable surplus of agricultural products, and large quantities of lumber, are annually produced, and floated down the Susquehanna to market.

Braintrim is situate about 40 miles N. W. from Wilkes-Barre. The great post road from Tunkhannock to Athens, passes through it. It has a post-office, and contains 700 inhabitants.

Covington, (so named in honor of Brig. Gen. Covington of the army of the United States, who fell in the battle of Williamsburg in U. C. during the late war,) is bounded E. by Wayne county, S. E. and S. by the Lehigh river, which separates it from Pike and Northampton counties; S. W. by Bear creek, which separates it from Wilkes-Barre; and N. W. by Pittston, Providence and Blakeley.

Its timber is pine, beech, maple, birch, ash and hemlock. There is a very thriving settlement in its northern division upon the lands of Henry W. Drinker, Esquire. Although its surface is very uneven and mountainous, much of it may be cultivated, and most of it will make excellent pasturage, especially for sheep. The experiment of keeping sheep upon the wild and uncultivated mountains and highlands in this and Wilkes-Barre townships, during the spring and summer months, has been tried for several successive years. The result has proved most favourable. Sheep return from the mountains in the autumn, greatly improved in health, flesh and fleece.

The Philadelphia and Great Bend turnpike passes through its northern division, and the Easton and Wilkes-Barre turnpike and great stage road, through its southern. Stoddartsville, at the great falls of the Lehigh, was, a few years since, a very flourishing village. It has felt the pressure of the times, and is now going to decay. This is the

extreme point to which the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, are authorized to extend their improvements in the navigation of that river. The contemplated Canal or Rail Road from the mouth of the Lackawannock to the Water Gap upon the Delaware, must pass through this township. Its streams afford abundant and never-failing mill power, and its forest the choicest of timber.

It has two post-offices and contains about 500 inhabitants.

Dallas, is bounded N. E. by Northmoreland; S. E. by Kingston and Plymouth; and S. W. by Lehman. It is called Dallas, in honor of the late Alexander J. Dallas, Esquire, of the city of Philadelphia, one of the most distinguished citizens of Pennsylvania.

Its timber is pine, oak, hickory and chesnut. A good portion of its soil will admit of cultivation, although its surface is very uneven, and part of it mountainous.

Harvey's lake, a beautiful sheet of water, surrounded with romantic scenery, and stored with the finest of trout, perch and sunfish, lies in this township, and is the resort of parties of pleasure during the summer months. The outlet of this lake, Bowman's creek, and other streams, furnish excellent mill power.

Dallas is situate about 8 miles N. W. from Wilkes-Barre, and contains about 500 inhabitants.

Eaton, (so named, in honor of General William Eaton, a native of Massachusetts, and hero of Deme, in Barbara,) is bounded N. N. E. and E. by the Susquehanna river, which separates it from Tunkhannock and Falls; S. by Northmoreland; and N. W. by Windham. It is generally hilly, some part of it mountainous, but a good portion of it may be cultivated. It produces some agricultural products, and considerable lumber for market. The great stage route from Wilkes-Barre to Mont-

rose, passes through it. It is situate about 25 miles north of Wilkes-Barre; has a post-office, contains about 600 inhabitants.

EXETER, is bounded N. by the Susquehanna river and Falls; E. and S. E. by Providence and Pittston; S. W. by Kingston; and N. W. by Northmoreland.

Its timber is similar to that of Dallas. Its surface is very uneven. Part of its soil is excellent, and most of it may be cultivated.

The southern angle of this township includes part of Abraham's Plains, the celebrated battle ground of the 3d July, 1778, where the whole military force of the valley, under the command of Colonels Butler and Denison, were drawn into an ambuscade, and literally cut to pieces by the British, Indians and tories, under the command of the British Col. Butler, and the Indian chief, Brandt.

Near the battle ground stood a fort called Wintermoot's, after a notorious and blood thirsty tory of that name, who claimed the adjacent land. Old Wintermoot, after having done all the mischief he could to our naked and defenceless frontier settlements, removed to, and settled in Canada. After the revolution, Col. John Jenkins, an American officer, and a citizen of the valley, entered upon Wintermoot's claim, as a Connecticut settler, and remained in possession until his death in 1827. During the late war, whilst our army was in possession of the British fort Erie, and the enemy lay in its vicinity, a son of the old tory, who was a Lieut. in the British army, commanded one of the enemies advanced piquets. A volunteer from Bradford county, was stationed at one of our piquets in the neighborhood. Young Wintermoot one day left his post, and advanced alone towards our lines, for the purpose, it is presumed, of reconnoitering our position, when he was discovered at some distance by our volunteer, who was advancing

alone upon a similar errand towards the enemies lines. Our volunteer was armed with his rifle, which in *his* hands never missed its mark. He took good aim, fired, brought young Wintermoot to the ground, and returned to the fort with the arms and commission of his enemy. Thus, after the lapse of nearly 40 years, were the iniquities of the father visited upon the son. The battle ground is within a mile of the northern extremity of the valley, and about 10 miles by the road N. E. from Wilkes-Barre. Subscriptions have recently been solicited throughout the valley for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of those who fell in that disastrous battle. The object is praise worthy, and it is hoped, will not fail of being accomplished.

The great stage road and turnpike from Wilkes-Barre to Montrose, passes through Exeter, and over the battle ground. Exeter has a post-office, and contains about 800 inhabitants.

Falls, is bounded N. W. by Tunkhannock; N. E. by Abington; S. E. by Providence and Exeter; and S. W. by the Susquehanna, which separates it from Exeter, Northmoreland and Eaton.

This township derives its name from a beautiful cascade in Buttermilk falls creek; a handsome view of which, engraved from a sketch by the late Jacob Cist, Esq. formed a frontispiece for one of the numbers of the Port Folio, several years since.

Its timber is white and yellow pine, oak, hickory, chesnut, and some beech, maple and hemlock.

Its surface is very uneven—part of it mountainous; but a considerable portion of its soil produces good crops of grain and grass. It furnishes a considerable quantity of lumber annually for market. It is situate about 18 miles north of Wilkes-Barre, and contains about 500 inhabitants.

Greenfield, is bounded on the N. by Susquehanna county; E. and S. E. by Blakeley; S by

Providence; and W. by Abington and Nicholson.

Its timber is beech, maple, ash, red cherry and hemlock. Its soil is generally of an excellent quality—better adapted to grazing than the growing of grain. It produces annually for market, considerable surplus quantities of maple sugar, butter, cheese, (of an excellent quality,) oats, domestic flannels and linens, horses, cattle and sheep.

Chapman's lower Chrystal, and part of upper Chrystal lakes, lie within this township; and several of the branches of the Tunkhannock and Lackawannock, have their sources in it, which furnish sufficient mill sites. Wild lands of a superior quality are selling here at from *three* to *five dollars* per acre. The Milford and Owego turnpike road crosses its north-eastern angle, and the Clifford and Wilkes-Barre passes nearly through its centre, from north to south.

The flourishing village of Dundaff, in Susquehanna county, is located near its northern boundary, and the village of Carbondale is springing up like magic near its eastern border. The settlers are generally from New England—hardy, industrious and intelligent. Their prospects are very flattering; and every circumstance conspires to invite settlers. Indeed, no portion of northern Pennsylvania, presents stronger inducements, and more favorable prospects to the New England emigrants, than Greenfield, and the neighboring townships of Abington, Blakeley and Nicholson.

It is situate about 30 miles N. E. from Wilkes-Barre. It has a post office, and contains about 1200 inhabitants.

Hanover, is bounded N. E. by Wilkes-Barre; E. and S. E. by the Lehigh and Northampton county; S. W. by Sugarloaf and Newport; and N. W. by the Susquehanna river, which separates it from Union and Plymouth.

That portion of this township which lies in the

Wyoming valley, is thickly settled, and the land is of an excellent quality, and well cultivated. The mountainous part is covered with timber, consisting of white and yellow pine, oak, hickory and chesnut; some portion of which may be cultivated.

Anthracite coal is found every where in this township, from the river to near the summit of the mountain, a distance of two or three miles. The argillaceous iron stone abounds in the mountain, and it is believed of sufficient richness to justify its being worked upon an extensive scale.

In the eastern division of this township, are the eastern branch of the Nanticoke, and Solomon's creek, which are pretty good mill streams. In this latter stream, about mid-way up the mountain, and two miles from Wilkes-Barre, in which is called Solomon's Gap, is a beautiful cascade, which has long been visited as a great natural curiosity. Its wild and romantic aspect, and the delightful natural scenery around it, have, within a few years, been considerably injured by the erection of a very superior merchant mill immediately below the falls, by General William Ross, of Wilkes-Barre, who is the proprietor of this valuable water power. But the lovers of nature and of art, are still highly gratified with a visit to this romantic spot.

In its eastern division are Pine, Wright's, Terrapin ponds, and Sandy creek; which empty into the Lehigh, and the sources of the Nescopeck and the big and little Wapwallopen, which flow into the Susquehanna.

Penobscot Nob, the highest peak of the mountain in this township, affords an extensive and sublime prospect. Standing upon its apex, you look down upon the surrounding country as upon a map. To the west and south-west, the vallies of the west branch, Penn, Buffalo and Bald Eagle

creeks, and the majestic Allegheny, in Centre county, are plainly seen, whilst the intervening mountains dwindle in the view into gentle undulations. Here, whilst he contemplates the vast prospect around him, man feels his own littleness, and, instinctively turning to the great Author of all, exclaims, "what is man, that thou art mindful of him!"

Hanover was originally settled by emigrants from Paxton and Hanover, then Lancaster, now Dauphin and Lebanon counties, who came on under the Connecticut title in 1769, among whom was the late Judge HOLLENBACK.

Judge Hollenback took an early and active part in the revolutionary war; was honored with a commission in the army, by the Continental Congress; participated in the conflict relative to the right of soil and jurisdiction to this part of the country; was complimented with various appointments, civil and military, by his fellow-citizens and the Government; enjoyed the abundant fruits of an active and temperate life, and died at the advanced age of 77, on the 18th of Feb. 1829.

The original settlers in this township have given place to the Germans, who now compose the principal part of the population. They are an honest, industrious and punctual people.

Hanover furnishes annually large surplus quantities of wheat, rye, Indian corn and pork, which has hitherto been transported by waggons to Easton, and laterly to Mauch Chunk, to market. The great stage route from Wilkes-Barre to Harrisburg, passes through it. Nanticoke falls is near its western angle, which will be more particularly noticed in the description of Newport. It contains about 1000 inhabitants.

HUNTINGTON. is bounded N. E. by Union and Salem; S. E. by Salem; S. W. and W. by Columbia county; and N. W. by Lycoming county.

Its timber is pine, oak, chesnut and hickory, and in its north-western angle, some beech, maple and hemlock. Its surplus products are pork, whiskey, and the various kinds of grain, which it produces in considerable quantities. Huntington and Green creeks flow through this township, and furnish good mill sites. Anthracite coal has been discovered in this township, and it is not known that it has been found in any considerable quantities on the west of the Susquehanna, south of this. It is a populous and thriving township. It has three post-offices, and contains 1500 inhabitants.

Kingston, is bounded N. E. by Exeter; S. E. by the Susquehanna river, which separates it from Pittston and Wilkes-Barre; S. W. by Plymouth and Dallas.

This township has a large portion of first rate timber. The mountain is of gentle declivity, and its soil is good, and produces abundantly. It yields annually, large surplus quantities of wheat, rye, Indian corn, pork and whiskey, which are either floated down the Susquehanna, or transported by waggons across the mountains to Easton, to market.

It contains two villages—Kingston, quite upon its southern boundary, and New Troy near its northern; each of which has a post-office, and contains several stores and mechanics' shops. Kingston village is at present most flourishing. School houses are erected in every neighborhood, in which schools are kept up during the greater part of the year. They are partly supported by the annual income from lands, which were originally appropriated to that purpose by the Connecticut settlers. Had the government of Pennsylvania made similar provision for each township in the Commonwealth, its advantages, judging from all experience, and particularly from the practical effect of the Connecticut system of Com-

mon School support, from which the original settlers in Kingston took the hint, would have been incalculable. The day is past for this species of provision; but it is believed if Pennsylvania prosecutes and completes her system of internal improvement, *the time is not distant, when its income will be abundantly sufficient to extinguish the debt incurred, and make ample provision for the Common School education of every child in this Commonwealth.*

Anthracite coal abounds in this township, and it is not known that it has been found further to the north on the west side of the Susquehanna river. Abraham's, and Toby's creeks are pretty good mill streams.

In this township are to be seen some remains of an ancient fortification, similar to those found upon the western waters. They bear the impress of an advanced knowledge in the art of war. Here also are the remains of Forty fort, to which Col. Denison, with a feeble remnant of his corps, retired after the battle of the 3d of July, 1778. It was from this fort that the Colonel was compelled to negociate for the safety of the aged and infirm—and for the widows and orphans which that disastrous battle had made. It was here that articles of capitulation were agreed upon, and the pledge of safety given by Butler, the British commander. The preceding history tells how soon that pledge was violated.

Part of the battle ground lies in the north-eastern angle of this township. The remains of those who fell, were here collected, and hastily and "sadly" interred. The wealthy, intelligent and liberal citizens of Kingston, and of the valley, can hardly permit so interesting a spot to remain long without a "raised stone," and a "carved line," as a memorial of their fallen kindred and friends.

The great stage route from Wilkes-Barre to

Montrose, passes through this township. It has three post-offices, and contains about 1500 inhabitants.

Lehman, is bounded N. E. by Windham and Northmoreland; S. E. by Plymouth; S. W. by Union; and N. W. by Lycoming county.

This township was organized in November, 1829; its name was intended as a tribute of respect to the late Doctor *William Lehman*, of the city of Philadelphia, for many years a member of the House of Representatives, chairman of the committee of internal improvement and inland navigation, and a distinguished and active friend and advocate of the great system of canal and rail road improvement, adopted in Pennsylvania, and which promises incalculable advantages to the Commonwealth. He had visited the great public works in Europe; had witnessed their operations, and returned with a mind well stored with useful information upon the subject. He died at Harrrisburg during the session of the Legislature of 1828–9, whilst attending to his duties as a member. His fellow members of the House of Representatives, decreed him a tomb-stone, to be erected at the public expense.

This township is very uneven; the great range of the Allegheny passes through its north-western division; yet much of it may be cultivated. The timber is pine, oak, hickory, chesnut, with some beech, maple and hemlock. It contains several small lakes, one of which at the head of the western tributary of Harvey's creek, is here called Lehman's lake; and the tributary itself, of which the lake is the source, is called Lehman's creek. Harvey's, Bowman's and Mahoopeny creeks flow through it, and afford numerous mill sites.

It has a post-office, and contains about 400 inhabitants.

Nescopeck, is bounded N. E. by Newport; S.

E. by Sugarloaf; W. by Columbia county; and N. W. by the Susquehanna river, which separates it from Salem and Union. It has some very good river bottom, but its surface is generally uneven. Big and little Wapwallopen, and the Nescopeck creek, flow through it. Nescopeck village, handsomely situated on the bank of the river, has a post-office, and several well built houses. A bridge is thrown across the Susquehanna at this place, connecting it with Berwick, a thriving village upon the west bank of the river. The Berwick and Easton turnpike road and great stage route passes through this township. Its exports consist in the various kinds of grain and timber. Its population is principally German, and amounts probably to 1300.

Newport, is bounded N. E. by Hanover; S. E. by Sugarloaf; S. W. by Nescopeck; and N. W. by the Susquehanna river, which separates it from Union and Plymouth. Its timber the same as in Hanover and Nescopeck. Some part of it is thickly settled, and well cultivated; but a considerable portion of it will not admit of culture. Anthracite coal is found here in abundance. It contains bog iron ore, which has been worked to a considerable extent at a forge upon the Nanticoke, which has been long in operation.

Nanticoke falls, where a feeder dam is now being built for the North Branch canal, is at the extreme northern angle of this township. The immense amount of surplus water which this dam will furnish, and which may be applied to hydraulic purposes, its location at the outlet of the extensive valley of Wyoming—the coal and iron ore in its vicinity, with the facilities of canal transportation, are calculated to invite capitalists, and at no very distant day, to produce in its immediate neighbourhood, a populous and busy manufacturing village. It is situate about 8 miles from Wilkes-Barre; has

a post-office, and contains about 1000 inhabitants.

NICHOLSON, (so named, from John Nicholson, Esq. formerly Treasurer of Pennsylvania, who early formed a settlement in the neighbourhood,) is bounded N. by Susquehanna county; E. by Greenfield; S. by Abington; and W. by Tunkhannock.

Its timber along the Tunkhannock, which flows through it, is principally pine, but its greater portion is covered with beech, maple, ash and hemlock. The soil, except upon the creek, is similar to that of Abington and Greenfield. Its exports are principally lumber. The Philadelphia and Great Bend turnpike, passes through it from north to south, dividing it into nearly two equal parts.

It is situate about 35 miles N. from Wilkes-Barre; has a post-office, and contains about 800 inhabitants.

NORTHMORELAND, is bounded N. by Eaton and the Susquehanna river, which separates it from Falls; E. by Exeter; S. by Dallas and Lehman; and W. by Windham. Its surface is very uneven —indeed mountainous; yet it contains a considerable quantity of land which will admit of culture. Its timber is similar to that of Dallas. Its principal exports at present, are lumber. It has three post-offices, and contains 800 inhabitants.

PITTSTON, is bounded N. by Exeter and Providence; N. E. by Providence; S. E. by Covington; S. W. by Wilkes-Barre; and W. and N. W. by the Susquehanna, which separates it from Kingston and Exeter.

The soil of that portion of Pittston which lies in the valley is good, and some part of it of a superior quality. A great portion of it is mountainous, but much of it may be cultivated. It includes the mouth, and lower section of the Lackawanneck river, a strong and never failing stream, which furnishes numerous mill sites.

Falling Spring, a great natural curiosity, near the north-western angle of this township, is precipitated from a high elevation over an almost perpendicular ledge. Its frothy track, of a snow white appearance, is seen by the traveller, as he advances to the north, at the distance of several miles. At this point the Susquehanna breaks into the valley of Wyoming.

Anthracite coal is found here in great abundance. The mouth of the Lackawanna, in Pittston, is about 10 miles N. E. from Wilkes-Barre; 23 miles S. W. from Carbondale; and 50 miles N. W. from the Delaware water gap. The construction of a canal along the Lackawannock river, and a canal or rail road from the Delaware water gap, have been authorized by law. If these improvements should be executed, and the North Branch canal extended, of which there can be little doubt, Pittston, with its immense water power, and rich coal mines, will possess advantages calculated to attract capitalists, and at no very distant period, a populous manufacturing village may be expected to grow up within its limits.

It has three post offices, and contains about 1000 inhabitants.

Plymouth, is bounded N. E. by Kingston and Dallas; S. E. by the Susquehanna, which separates it from Wilkes-Barre, Hanover and Newport; S. W. by Union; and N. W. by Lehman and Dallas.

That part of Plymouth which lies in the valley of Wyoming, consists mainly, of the richest alluvial soil. A great part of its surface is mountainous; but its mountains are generally of gentle acclivity, and will admit of cultivation.

The Plymouth coal mines have been worked to a greater extent, and with more judgment and skill, than any other in the valley.

The Connecticut settlers, originally appropria-

ted lands in this township, for the support of schools, from which very considerable aid to that object, is now derived. Its citizens have established an academy, or high school, in which the languages, and the higher branches of an English education, are taught.

The exports of Plymouth are coal and grain.

It has two post-offices, and contains about 1200 inhabitants.

Providence, is bounded N. E. by Blakeley; S. E. by Covington; S. W. and S. by Pittston; W. by Exeter, and N. W. by Falls.

There is much good, and well cultivated land along the Lackawannock, in this township. Most of its surface is mountainous, but much of it may be cultivated.

Anthracite coal is found here in abundance, and is easily mined; the Lackawannock and the Roaring brook, furnish mill power to an indefinite extent.

The Philadelphia and Great Bend turnpike passes through its northern division, and the Luzerne and Wayne county turnpike, has its commencement here. A village called Centreville has been recently laid out upon the river, which is fast improving.

The local position of Providence, in relation to the great projected improvements in this quarter, its immense water power, extensive coal mines, and valuable timber, all combine to render its prospects of increased population and improvement, highly flattering.

Lumber, grain and whiskey, are its principal exports.

It is situate about 17 miles N. E. from Wilkes-Barre; has a post-office, and contains about 1000 inhabitants.

Salem, is bounded N. E. and S. E. by the Susquehanna, which separates it from Nescopeck;

S. W. by the county of Columbia; and N. W. by Huntington.

The greater part of its soil will admit of cultivation. The river side of this township is well settled, and pretty well cultivated. The North Branch canal passes through it. Anthracite coal has been found in its hills, but its extent has not been ascertained. The Shickshinny, Beach's, and several other streams, furnish pretty good mill power.

A post-office is established at *Beach Grove*, in this township, the residence of *Nathan Beach*, Esq. who emigrated with his family when an infant, and settled in this township in 1769. After having served his country during the revolutionary struggle, he returned and settled near the spot where his family was first located, and is believed to be the only man living who resided in the valley in 1769. He long acted as a magistrate, and represented the county for several years in the Legislature. He is now enjoying the abundant fruits of a temperate and active life.

Salem produces a considerable quantity of surplus agricultural products for market; is situate about 20 miles S. W. from Wilkes-Barre, and contains about 900 inhabitants.

Sugarloaf, (so named from a mountain which at a distance appears shaped like the sugar loaf,) is bounded N. E. by Hanover; S. E. by Northampton county; S. by Schuylkill county; S. W. by Columbia county; and N. W. by Nescopeck and Newport.

It is very mountainous. The vallies of Nescopeck and Black creek, contain some excellent land, which is pretty generally settled, and well cultivated. Its streams afford excellent mill sites.

The Berwick and Easton turnpike and great stage road passes through it; and a canal is in contemplation across the Nescopeck summit, to

unite the waters of the Lehigh and Susquehanna.

Its population is German; Exports, the various kinds of grain. Conyngham, in this township, is a thriving and prosperous village, where there is a post-office.

Sugarloaf contains 1200 inhabitants.

Tunkhannock, is bounded N. by Susquehanna county; E. by Nicholson and Abington; S. E. by Falls; S. W. by the Susquehanna, which separates it from Eaton and Windham; and N. W. by Braintrim.

The soil along the Susquehanna, and the valley of the Tunkhannock creek, is productive; and the high lands, a considerable portion of which may be cultivated, are covered with valuable timber, consisting of white pine, oak, chesnut, &c. A village, advantageously situated near the mouth of the Tunkhannock, contains a post-office, several stores and mechanics' shops; and from its local position, promises to be a place of considerable importance.

It produces large quantities of lumber, and some of the products of agriculture, for market.

It is situate about 28 miles N. of Wilkes-Barre, and contains about 1200 inhabitants.

Union, is bounded N. E. by Lehman and Plymouth; S. E. by the Susquehanna, which separates it from Newport and Nescopeck; S. W. by Salem and Huntington; and N. W. by Lycoming county. Surface very uneven. Much of it may be cultivated. Henlock's, Shickshinny and Huntington creeks, head in, or flow through this township, which afford sufficient mill power. The North Branch canal passes through it. Its timber and agricultural products are similar to those in Huntington. It contains about 800 inhabitants.

Windham, is bounded N. E. by the Susquehanna, which separates it from Braintrim and Tunkhannock; S. E. by Eaton and Northmore-

land; S. W. by Lehman; and N. W. by the county of Bradford.

Its surface is mountainous; yet it contains some excellent land. Most of its soil will admit of cultivation.

The big and little Mahoopeny, are strong and never failing mill streams, and its forests contain the finest of timber.

It produces large quantities of lumber for market; and within a few years, considerable attention has been paid to grazing, and several dairies have produced excellent cheese.

It is situate about 40 miles N. W. from Wilkes-Barre, contains a post-office, and about 1000 inhabitants.

WILKES-BARRE township, is bounded N. E. by Pittston; E. by Bear creek, which separates it from Covington; S. W. by Hanover; and N. W. by the Susquehanna, which separates it from Plymouth and Kingston.

Its name is derived from the celebrated *John Wilkes* and Colonel *Barre*, who were members of the British Parliament during the revolutionary struggle, and took a decided part in favour of America, against the measures of the British ministry.

Wilkes-Barre is situated in the midst of the anthracite coal formation, and contains an inexhaustible quantity of this valuable mineral. It is believed that no portion of the valley affords greater facilities for the transportation of coal to the Susquehanna, or offers stronger inducements to capitalists to engage in the coal trade, than the coal lands in Wilkes-Barre. They extend from the river back to near the top of the mountain, a distance of about two miles. The strata are from six to twenty-four feet in thickness, and are every where exposed where intersected by the streams and rivulets from the mountain. The coal is of a

brilliancy and richness rarely equalled, and no where excelled, in the whole anthracite coal formation.

The Borough of Wilkes Barre, in this township, is on the east bank of the Susquehanna, and is the seat of Justice for Luzerne county. It contains a court-house, jail, public offices, an academy, a meeting-house, an Episcopal church, eight or ten stores, a number of mechanics' shops, and about one hundred dwelling houses. "The Wyoming Bank of Wilkes-Barre," chartered by an act of the legislature in 1829, has now (February 1830,) commenced its operations. From the general interest felt for its success, and from the known character of its officers, it is believed it will contribute largely towards the improvement and prosperity of the country. The number of inhabitants within the borough is probably about 1200, and about the same number in the township.

The Wilkes-Barre academy, incorporated in 1806, has deservedly acquired a high reputation. It generally contains from twenty-five to fifty students, of both sexes, pursuing the higher branches of learning. The Latin and Greek languages, are here taught, together with the mathematics, and all the various branches of an English education. This institution has produced some respectable scholars, and has prepared numerous young men to enter the northern colleges.

The Wyoming Seminary, for the education of young ladies, recently established at Wilkes-Barre, promises as extensive usefulness, as any institution of the kind in our country. Under the care of Mrs. *Chapman*, (the widow of the author of the preceding history,) its principal, and Miss *Trott*, her assistant, both highly accomplished, and well qualified instructors, this Seminary has excited an interest, and is acquiring a reputation, not usual in the infancy of institutions of the kind.

From the general healthiness of the valley, and the delightful scenery, and natural charms which it affords—from the excellent society of the village—the cheapness of living, and the competency of the instructors, the schools of Wilkes-Barre deservedly merit extensive patronage and support.

In conclusion it is proposed to take a summary, and more connected view of the anthracite coal formation, and of the improvements in progress, and in contemplation, in this interesting region of country.

The origin of the anthracite coal formation, has been a fruitful subject of speculation. It is generally believed to be of vegetable origin, and there are certainly many facts which naturally lead to this conclusion. Its component parts, properties, and localities, and the various vegetable impressions which are every where plainly to be seen in this mineral, and also in the slate rock, which generally covers it, are regarded as conclusive evidences, that its first existence depended upon vegetable matter. It is supposed too, that its first formation was in horizontal strata, and that by some great convulsion of nature, they have been broken up, and the fragments thrown into the situations in which they are now found, inclining to every point of the compass, and in every position from horizontal to vertical. This opinion is as strongly supported by appearances in every part of the anthracite coal formation, as is the fact of its vegetable origin.

But at what period, and by what means such immense masses of vegetable matter were collected, and by what great convulsion of nature they were broken up after their formation, are problems, the solutions of which, are left entirely to conjecture. No history which has come down to us, furnishes any satisfactory data by which these enquiries can be answered. Indeed, it would seem very difficult to sustain this theory,

without intrenching upon the Mosaic account of the creation, and the unbroken chain of history since that period.

To suppose this mineral a primitive material in the formation of the earth; that it has undergone some mutations in the lapse of ages; and that its original situation was materially changed—its strata divided, and thrown into different positions, when "the fountains of the great deep were broken up," would certainly relieve the subject from most of the difficulties in which science involves it, without impeaching the integrity of the sacred history, or detracting from the wisdom and goodness of the great Author and Maker of all things.

The anthracite coal formation, in this region, commences near the head waters of the Lackawannock, in Wayne county and extends down the valley of that stream to the Susquehanna river, at the head of the Wyoming valley; thence down the valley of Wyoming, to its southern extremity. Here its strata are lost in the mountains, until they again make their appearance at the Beaver meadows, and Mauch Chunk, in Northampton county, at the head waters of the Schuylkill, in Schuylkill county, and near the sources of most of the principal tributaries of the Susquehanna, from the east, below Sunbury, as far south as the stony creek, between the Kittaning and Peter's mountains, in Dauphin county. Its width through the valties of the Lackawannock and Wyoming, is from one to five miles It is seen cropping out upon the hills and mountains, on each side of the Lackawannock, (and in many places forming the bed of that stream,) through the townships of Blakeley, Providence, and part of Pittston, where it reaches the Susquehanna—thence it extends through Pittston, Wilkes-Barre, Hanover and Newport, upon the east side of the river, and is found in great abundance, and has been exten-

sively mined in Plymouth, upon the west side of the river. It has also been discovered on the west side of the river in Kingston, in the valley of Wyoming, and in Salem and Huntington, S. W. of the valley. Its general range is from north-east to south-west, and its length not far from seventy miles.

There are four or five different strata of coal, varying from six to twenty-four feet in thickness, with intervening strata of coarse sand stone and slate; which latter immediately covers the coal, and contains innumerable vegetable impressions. These different strata may be traced from near Carbondale, to the foot of the Wyoming valley, as they are intersected by ravines formed by the mountain streams, for the distance of more than fifty miles. The dip of the coal strata varies from five to fifteen degrees. Their inclination, it is believed, is less where the surface of the earth is level, and is greater, and more irregular, where the surface is broken and uneven. Their inclination, it is believed, will be found generally to correspond very nearly with that of the surface of the superincumbent earth or rock. These circumstances are most favorable to mining operations.

No examinations have as yet been made with the auger, to ascertain whether the strata exposed by the intersection of rivulets, are continuous throughout this extensive coal formation; but every appearance indicates that such is the fact. The same number of strata appear, (where exposed,) in the same range, and of the same thickness; and although they may be frequently ruptured transversely, as well as longitudinally, yet the great fragments remain without any material change of position. This last remark is intended to apply more particularly to the Wyoming and Lackawannock vallies, where the coal strata are believed to be more regular, and their dip less, and more uni-

form, than in any other portion of the anthracite coal formation.

If the data which are here furnished approximate near the truth, this coal tract contains more than *five thousand millions of tons* of this mineral, which at six cents per ton, in the mine, will amount to more than *three hundred millions of dollars.*

The coal localities, from which the greatest facilities of access are afforded to the Susquehanna, or to the canal, (if it should be extended through the Wyoming valley, of which there can be no doubt,) are those of Wilkes-Barre and Pittston, on the east, and of Plymouth, on the west side of the river; and of these, the coal of Wilkes-Barre and Plymouth, for thickness and extent of strata, have a decided preference.

That the Wyoming coal is equal, if not superior, to any of the anthracite species, is known to every practical man acquainted with the subject, and admitted by every mineralogist, and man of science, who has visited the country and examined for himself. That its extent, thickness of strata, the ease with which it may be mined, and the facilities which its localities afford for its transportation to the Susquehanna, or to the canal when constructed, are not here over-rated, a partial examination upon the ground, will furnish the most clear and satisfactory evidence.

But notwithstanding the extent, the richness, and other advantages of this coal tract, so well calculated to attract capitalists, and encourage improvements, it still remains comparatively very little known in Pennsylvania. The late Gov. Clinton of New York, knew, and appreciated its value; and in his last message to the Legislature, urged the opening of every practicable avenue, by canal and rail road, to those extensive and inexhaustible mines. They have been reached near their extreme north-eastern extent, at the expense of

two millions, by a company of enterprizing citizens of that great state, aided by her legislature. Besides this, no other avenue has been opened (Feb. 1830) to this invaluable mineral. It remains locked up in its native hills and mountains, and will there repose undisturbed, until other facilities are afforded for its transportation, than the hazardous, expensive, and frequently disastrous floods of the Susquehanna.

IMPROVEMENTS.

The turnpike roads now finished, and which have been referred to under different heads in this appendix, are here enumerated, and their extent pointed out.

The Milford and Owego, crosses the N. E. angle of the county, and passes through Blakeley and Greenfield townships. This is the shortest, and most expeditious stage route from the city of New York, to the western part of that state

The Wilkes-Barre and Clifford, is completed from the Cochecton and Great Bend turnpike in Susquehanna county, to Blakeley, upon the Lackawannock, in Luzerne county, from which there is a good road to Wilkes-Barre. It passes through the village of Dundaff, in Susquehanna, and Greenfield and Blakeley, in Luzerne. On this road, a tri-weekly stage is established.

The Luzerne and Wayne county, passes through Providence and Blakeley, intersecting the Philadelphia and Great Bend, the Easton and Belmont, and the Milford and Owego turnpikes.

The Carbondale road, formed by the Hudson and Delaware Canal Company, and extends from Carbondale to the Milford and Owego turnpike, at Rix's Gap.

The Philadelphia and Great Bend, passes through Covington, Providence, Abington and Nicholson townships.

The Abington and Waterford, commences in Abington, and passes through Nicholson and Tunkhannock.

The Wilkes-Barre and Bridgewater, passes through Kingston, Exeter, Northmoreland, Eaton and Tunkhannock. On this road a tri-weekly stage is established, from Philadelphia to Buffalo, and a daily stage from the city of Washington to Sackett's Harbour. The traveller for health or for pleasure, could not select a more favourable route for a summer's excursion than this; and whilst he would be highly gratified with the wild, romantic and picturesque prospects which every where present themselves, he could not deny himself the pleasure of lingering a while in the delightful valley of Wyoming, in viewing its natural curiosities, and in surveying its mineral treasures.

The Easton and Wilkes-Barre, passes through Wilkes-Barre and Covington, and is part of the great stage route mentioned above.

The Berwick and Newtown, passes through Huntington township, and

The Berwick and Easton, passes through Nescopeck and Sugarloaf. On these two latter, tri-weekly stages are established.

Besides these, acts have been passed for the incorporation of companies, to make several artificial roads in the county. The most important of which at present, are from Wilkes-Barre, through Solomon's Gap, to Lowrytown, upon the Lehigh, a distance of little more than twenty miles; and from Carbondale down the Lackawannock about ten miles. These roads are of great interest to the public, and it is hoped they will soon be commenced.

CANALS AND RAIL ROADS.

An act has been passed to incorporate a company to construct a canal from the Susquehanna river,

at the mouth of the Nescopeck creek up the valley of that stream; thence across the summit, and down Wright's creek to the Lehigh, a distance of thirty-seven miles. This route was examined by Moncure Robinson, a distinguished Engineer, under the direction of the board of canal commissioners, in the summer of 1828, and was found to be well adapted to this improvement. A superabundant supply of water can be introduced upon the summit, by a comparatively short feeder. This point, it is believed, possesses advantages over every other in Pennsylvania, for a continuous water communication between the Susquehanna and Delaware; and will, at some day, be the great thoroughfare through which much of the immense tonnage of the upper Susquehanna will pass to Philadelphia.

The distance by this route and the North Branch canal, from Wilkes-Barre to the mouth of Wright's creek, will be about sixty-five miles; whereas, from Wilkes-Barre, through Solomon's Gap, to the same point upon the Lehigh, the direct distance is but eleven miles. It is believed that a rail road, overcoming the elevation, (which is considerable,) by lifts and levels, might be located between these points, within the distance of twenty miles. It would then be questionable whether the distance gained would compensate for the delay, trouble and expense of the necessary transfer of tonnage from canal boats to rail road carriages, and vise versa.

An act has also been passed for the incorporation of a company for the construction of a canal or rail road from the Water Gap of the Delaware to the mouth of the Lackawannock, at the head of the Wyoming valley. This route was also examined by Mr. Robinson; and no doubt is entertained that a rail road may be advantageously located between these points. The distance is about fifty

miles. This improvement was intended, both as a connection between the Delaware and North Branch divisions of the Pennsylvania canal, and as an extension of the line of communication between the Hudson and the Susquehanna, by the contemplated Orange and Sussex canal. These great improvements were projected with the view, almost exclusively, of penetrating the Wyoming coal region, and were among the great objects recommended by the lamented Clinton, in his last message to the Legislature. They are certainly worthy of the attention, if not of the states interested, at least, of individuals of capital and enterprise.

An act has also been passed for incorporating a Company to improve the navigation of the Lackawannock. That this improvement will be effected, there can be little doubt. The distance from Carbondale, at the termination of the improvements of the Hudson and Delaware Canal Company, to the Susquehanna, at the mouth of the Lackawannock, is about twenty-three miles. Extend the North Branch canal sixteen miles, and the improvement of the Lackawannock, would connect it with the improvements of the above Company, and pass throughout its whole extent, through a portion of the richest coal formation on earth. This coal tract, except at Carbondale, is worthless, without this, or some other improvement, to facilitate transportation.

An act for the incorporation of a company, has also been obtained, for making a rail road from the Lackawannock coal mines, to the mouth of the Chenango river, on the Susquehanna. This improvement was likewise referred to, and recommended by, Governor Clinton, in his last message. If the Chenango canal should be undertaken, the capital and enterprise of the citizens of New-York, will be embarked in this great work, and ensure its execution.

The communication from the Hudson river to Carbondale, the work of the Hudson and Delaware Canal Company, which has been frequently referred to, is by canal from the Hudson to the Delaware, near Carpenter's point; thence up the eastern bank of the Delaware, to the mouth of the Lackawaxen; thence crossing the Delaware by a pool formed by a dam across that river, and up the Lackawaxen to Honesdale, at the forks of the Dyberry, where it terminates in an artificial basin, a distance of little more than one hundred miles; thence by rail road across the Lackawannock mountain, to Carbondale, sixteen miles.

The persevering exertions of this company, in overcoming difficulties, which a few years since would have been regarded as insurmountable, entitle them to every praise. The operations upon their rail road was originally designed to be carried on by stationary and locomotive engines; but in consequence of the short curvatures, which the structure of the country rendered necessary and the great weight of the locomotive engines, the company have been under the necessity of substituting horse power upon the levels for the present. The stationary engines operate well, and the company have been for several months, during this season, (1829) transporting over their rail road, from one hundred and fifty, to two hundred tons of coal per day. They have triumphed over many difficulties, and it is hoped and believed, with some trifling alterations, and improvements, which experience will suggest, they will shortly realize from their labours a rich and well merited reward.

Most of the foregoing canal and rail road improvements, and others not referred to, have been projected by citizens and capitalists of New York, with the view of reaching this extensive coal tract; and most, if not all of them, when executed, will be of great and lasting advantage to this section of

the state. But no improvement in this quarter, excites so much interest, and produces so much anxiety for its extension and early completion, as the NORTH BRANCH CANAL. This important work was projected by Pennsylvania, and is designed exclusively for her benefit; and, without undervaluing other interests, nothing is hazarded in pronouncing it the most promising portion of the great system of improvement now in progress of execution. But before this section of the country, or the State, can reap any advantages from this improvement, it must be extended to the head of the Wyoming valley, so as fully to penetrate the coal formation; and before the full advantages of this improvement can be realized, it must be extended to the New York line, and there connected with the Chemung canal.

The distance from Nanticoke, the point at which the canal is now under contract, to the State line, is one hundred and six miles. The Chemung canal is now (Dec. 1829) advertised for contract, from the Seneca lake to Newtown, within fourteen miles of the State line; and these fourteen miles are over almost a dead alluvial level, presenting no difficulties in the construction of a canal. When the North Branch canal shall be extended, and a connection formed with the Seneca lake, the richest and fairest portion of the state of New York, will pour its agricultural and mineral products into the lap of Pennsylvania, in a ceaseless and never ending stream. This may now be thought *fancy*; but if Pennsylvania is true to her interests, *it will be fact:*

The distance from New York, by the Erie canal, and the Seneca river, the outlet of the Seneca lake, is	379 miles.
From Philadelphia by the Union, Pennsylvania and Chemung Canals, to the head of Seneca lake, is	361 miles.
Difference in favor of Philadelphia,	18 miles.

To this advantage in distance, may be added the facts, that from the Seneca to Philadelphia, by the Union or Nescopeck canals, the trouble, expense and delay of transshipment, would be avoided, which must be incurred by the Erie canal;—that the Pennsylvania canal will be open for several weeks earlier, and several weeks later, in the season, than the Erie canal; and that Philadelphia is often found to be a better market than New York for the staples of the "Lake country."

The coal tonnage of the Wyoming valley alone, it is believed, will be sufficient to support the North Branch canal: but when to this, is superadded the immense amount of iron from the middle counties of Pennsylvania, and the merchandize from Philadelphia, which will ascend this canal to supply the extensive regions bordering upon the lakes; and the salt, the plaster, and the agricultural products which will descend through this avenue, and seek a market in Pennsylvania; the income from this improvement will be swelled to an amount far exceeding the most sanguine calculations. In short, until all these sources of commerce are dried up or exhausted, which thousands of years will not be able to accomplish, the North Branch canal must, and will be one of the most productive portions of the great system of improvement in Pennsylvania.

ERRATA.

Page.

40—12th line, for *Jay* read SAY.
43—30th line, for *direct* read DIRECT.
56—13th line, for *reports* read REPORT.
64—28th line, for *prisoners* read PERSONS.
82—14th line, for *removed* read RENEWED.
95—5th line, for *wnen* read WHEN.
150—9th line, for *fired* read FIRED.
188—18th line, for *timber* read LAND.
200—28th line, for *Kittaning* read KITTATINNY.